

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN TRADITIONS

FOUNDED BY HEIKO A. OBERMAN †

EDITED BY

ROBERT J. BAST, Knoxville, Tennessee

IN COOPERATION WITH

HENRY CHADWICK, Cambridge

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ERIC SAAK, Indianapolis, Indiana

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ALBERTO FERREIRO

SIMON MAGUS IN PATRISTIC, MEDIEVAL
AND EARLY MODERN TRADITIONS



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BY

ALBERTO FERREIRO



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Cover illustration: Seventeenth-Century Baroque Altar Relief, Chapel of St. Peter.
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To my lovely wife Debra for her support and understanding

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ORIGINAL PLACE OF PUBLICATION OF ARTICLES

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“Simon Magus: The patristic-medieval traditions and historiography,”
Apocrypha 7 (1996) 147–165.

Chapter 2

“Ediciones y publicaciones sobre apócrifos en los últimos diez años,”
Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia 6 (1997) 269–274.

Chapter 3

“Typological Portraits of Simon Magus in anti-Gnostic Sources,”
Plenitudo Temporis. Miscelánea Homenaje al Prof. Dr. Ramón Trevijano Etcheverría. [Bibliotheca Salmanticensis, Estudios, 249.] Salamanca: Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, 2002, 363–378.

Chapter 4

“Simon Peter and Simon Magus in the *Acts of Peter* and the *Passion of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul*.” *XXIX Incontro di studiosi dell’antichità cristiana*. [Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum, 74.] Rome: Augustinianum. Rome, 4–6 Maggio, 2000 [2001], 41–66.

Chapter 5

“Jerome’s Polemic against Priscillian in his *Letter* to Ctesiphon (133,4).” *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 39,2 (1993) 309–332. [A modified version of this article appeared as “Sexual depravity, doctrinal error, and character assassination in the fourth century: Jerome against the Priscillianists.” *Studia Patristica* 28 (1993) 29–38]

Chapter 6

“Priscillian and Nicolaitism.” *Vigiliae Christianae* 52, 4 (1998) 382–392.

Chapter 7

“Simon Magus and Priscillian in the *Commonitorium* of Vincent of Lérins.” *Vigiliae Christianae* 49,2 (1995) 180–188.

Chapter 8

“The Fall of Simon Magus in Early Christian Commentary.” *Tempus Implendi Promissa. Homenaje al Prof. Dr. Domingo Ramos—Lissón*. (ed.) E. Reinhardt. [Colección Historia de la Iglesia, 33.] Pamplona: EUNSA, 2000, 171–185.

Chapter 9

“Simon Magus, Dogs, and Simon Peter.” In *The Devil, Heresy, and Witchcraft in the Middle Ages. Essays in Honor of Jeffrey B. Russell*. (ed.) A. Ferreiro. [Cultures, Beliefs, Traditions, Series, 6.] Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1998, 45–89. 7 illus.

Chapter 10

“Simon Magus and Simon Peter in Medieval Irish and English Legends.” *La Figura di San Pietro nelle fonti del Medioevo*. Studiorum Universitatum Docentium Congressus-Iubilaeum A.D. 2000. Viterbo-Rome 5–8 September, 2000. FIDEM, (ed.) L. Lazzari and A. M. Valente Bacci. [Textes et Études du Moyen Âge, 17.] Louvain-La-Neuve, 2001. 112–132. 3 illus.

Chapter 11

“Simon Magus, Nicolas of Antioch, and Muhammad” *Church History* 72, 1 (2003) 53–70.

Chapter 12

“Vincent Ferrer’s *Beati Petri Apostoli*: Canonical and apocryphal sources in popular vernacular preaching.” *Harvard Theological Review* 91,1 (1998) 41–57. 1 figure.

Chapter 13

“Pope Clement I, Martin of Tours and Simon Magus in the Cathedral of León, Spain.” [Previously unpublished.] 9 figures.

Chapter 14

“Simon Magus and Simon Peter in a Baroque altar relief in the Cathedral of Oviedo, Spain.” *Hagiographica* 5 (1998) 141–158. 8 Illus.

Chapter 15

“Las Figuras de Simón Mago y San Pedro en la Iconografía contenida en el *Princeton Index of Christian Art*. Con Addenda Bibliográfica.” *Hagiografía y Archivos de la Iglesia*. 9–13 Sept. 2002, Ourense, Spain. [Asociación de Archiveros de la Iglesia en España]. *Memoria Ecclesiae* 24 (2004) 81–103.

INTRODUCTION

In 1990 I was looking into the subject of character traits that the Church Fathers attributed to heretics. The search coincided with my interest at that time in the heretic Priscillian of Avila. Knowing that Jerome had been one of the most colorful writers of that age, especially against those whom he considered enemies of the faith, I decided to initiate an inquiry into his works. For reasons that I do not recall I decide first to look into his epistolary correspondence. In the index of the volume I was using I noticed a reference to Priscillian in his 133 *Letter* to Ctesiphon. As I read the letter closely I soon realized that there was abundant typological language and imagery that Jerome used as he launched a devastating attack against the Priscillianist sect. It was there that I discovered the central role of the non-canonical Simon Magus, one that I was not familiar with, but having been already so with the Magus found in the Acts of the Apostles. Simon Magus rather than Priscillian captured my attention. Although this initial inquiry led to the publication of a highly focused article on that letter, now a chapter in this book, I began an earnest search for Simon Magus beyond the pages of the New Testament. Having been trained at the University of California, Santa Barbara primarily as a medievalist I also became interested in searching for Simon Magus in the medieval centuries. I had no idea at the time how ubiquitous Simon Magus was in both the art and literary documentation of the patristic and medieval eras. The essays in this volume, fourteen of which were previously published in a wide variety of venues, and one unpublished testify to the chronological trajectory of this figure and the creative ways in which he was adapted by those who used him to condemn everything from magic, witchcraft, Gnosticism, Islam, and heresy in all of its manifestations, and even to promote papal primacy. The studies are by no means to be considered an exhaustive treatment of the topic. They represent only what I have been able to do up to now. There is still a considerable amount of research to be done on Simon Magus, especially for the Middle Ages and the early modern period, that is beyond my capacity to carry out alone. I do plan to continue my modest efforts as opportunities present themselves. Just as

recently as two months before writing this introduction a friend of mine in Spain alerted me to an exquisite Baroque altar in a church in a small village in northern Spain that is not found in any of the Christian Apocrypha art inventories—including the extensive Princeton Index of Christian Art—on Simon Magus. I will spend part of the summer of 2005 researching this ‘new’ find. It is not included in this volume but will appear in a future publication.

If we broaden the agenda to include all Christian Apocrypha there is a veritable cornucopia of research awaiting exploitation across the whole of Europe and the Americas, the latter as far as I know is completely untouched. Furthermore, the literary documentation has not been fully accounted for and the art especially is far from exhausted for all periods. There is a vigorous amount of research that is being promoted primarily by the *Association pour l'étude de littérature Apocryphe Chrétienne* (AELAC) based at the Université de Lausanne, Switzerland. The journal of the society *Apocrypha* offers the latest research although most of it is paleographical in focus and chronologically principally in the patristic period. This is not to suggest that no more work is necessary in those areas. For example, two excellent book monographs on the Early Church were recently published: One by Stephen Haar, *Simon Magus: The First Gnostic?* [Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche, 119] Walter de Gruyter, 2003, revisits the question of Simon's alleged Gnosticism; the second study is a fine meticulous analysis of the Pseudo-Clementines by Dominique Côté, *Le thème de l'opposition entre Pierre et Simon dans les 'Pseudo-Clémentines.'* [Collection des Études Augustiniennes, Série Antiquité, 167] Paris, 2001. As mentioned above, however, the medieval and early modern periods need much greater attention than they are receiving at this time. I hope that my volume of essays will stimulate others to work more earnestly in the post-patristic period. Encouraging is the recent volume by David R. Cartlidge and J. Keith Elliott, *Art & the Christian Apocrypha* (Routledge, 2001), even though still limited in scope it is definitely a move in the right direction.

The figure of Simon Magus underwent a series of adaptations as writers used him to advance their own agendas. It all began with the Acts of the Apostles (8:4–25). For the Church Fathers the Simon Magus of the New Testament was the same as the one in the Christian Apocrypha. There is some disagreement among modern New Testament exegetes of the Acts of the Apostles on this and

other related questions. In the Acts version several main features surface about Simon Magus: he was a magician who claimed to be a messiah figure perhaps even a type of supreme deity, he had a large following of people in Samaria, he was baptized a Christian by Philip, he attempted to buy the power to confer the Holy Spirit from Peter, he was severely rebuked by Peter, and the narrative talks of his repentance—some versions even adding that he wept bitterly—that left open the possibility that he found forgiveness and corrected his attitude. The variety of opinions and complexities regarding the Acts of the Apostles by scholars can be consulted readily in the works of Ernst Haenchen, Luke Timothy Johnson, C. K. Barrett, Joseph A. Fitzmyer, F. Scott Spencer, and Robert Wall cited in the bibliography of this volume.

One thing most scholars agree upon is that the Simon Magus of the New Testament and the one attested to by Justin Martyr (1 *Apol.* 26 and 56 and *Trypho* 120.6)—our earliest patristic source, c. 150 A.D. are one and the same person. We are on even more controversial ground as to whether the Simonian sect of Irenaeus's day was originally founded by the New Testament Simon Magus and if he was already a Gnostic. Some maintain that these and other questions will never be satisfactorily answered with the documentation that we now have in hand and little will change since the chances of any new sensational discovery of manuscript sources is very unlikely. What is indisputable is that the Church Fathers and anonymous writers, with Irenaeus of Lyons as a major turning point, began adapting the canonical Simon Magus to fashion him in new creative ways. For example, he became the spiritual father of all the Gnostic sects, he became an unrepentant opponent of the apostle Peter and later of Paul as well, he had extraordinary powers, and he died violently in Rome during a climactic confrontation with Peter and Paul in the presence of the Emperor Nero and throngs of admirers. The departure and continuity with the New Testament Simon Magus is evident here even in this condensed explanation.

The first two essays in the volume address the major Simon Magus traditions and modern historiography. Chapter one shows that *Simon* Magus, who is known from the Acts of the Apostles (8:9–24), the *Acts of Peter* and the *Passion of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul*, was used metaphorically and typologically by the Church to censure immoral behavior, doctrinal heresy, and magic and witchcraft. We also witness from the Early Christian era to the end of the Middle Ages

the emergence of traditions about Simon Magus that are primarily based upon canonical and apocryphal texts and those that are wholly independent of these sources. The intent of the study is to provide an overview of the traditions, the research done up to that time, and the work that remains to be carried out on Simon Magus. Since the time when chapter two was written so much has been published the reader is simply advised to consult the ongoing activities of AELAC and their journal *Apocrypha*.

Chapter three brings together the most important testimony of the Church Fathers from Justin Martyr to Vincent of Lérins who presented Simon Magus as the prototype heretic who founded all of the Gnostic sects through a pseudo-apostolic succession. The commentary is found within the attempt by the Fathers to establish the legitimate succession of the Catholic bishops founded upon the apostles. At the same time they did not forget the figure of Simon the 'Magician' that was inspired by the Lucan text in the Acts of the Apostles. However, there was a stage when the 'type' of Simon Magus the Gnostic superseded that of the 'Magician.' After the fifth century beyond Jerome and Vincent of Lérins the Gnostic 'type' faded and the Magician surfaced again among other 'types' enduring throughout the medieval centuries.

Chapter four carries out a comparative analysis of the two principal apocryphal sources, the *Acts of Peter* and *the Passion of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul*, which were written contemporaneous to the Gnostic period. These two apocryphal acts endured and were extensively used in the Middle Ages; in fact far more than what the Church Fathers wrote about Simon Magus.

Chapters five, six, and seven center on the fourth and fifth centuries, in particular Jerome and Vincent of Lérins, who represent the increasingly fading image of the alleged Gnostic origins of Simon Magus. Chapter five looks into the fourth-century Priscillianist controversy in the Iberian Peninsula and Gaul that drew much attention from admirers and opponents. One formidable voice opposed to Priscillian was Jerome. In the 133 *Letter* written to Ctesiphon, approximately in 415, Jerome launched an attack against Priscillianists in section four. Jerome utilized mainly typology to associate Priscillian with the previous major heresies going ultimately back to the 'Father' of Christian heresy, Simon Magus. The study proposes for the first time an in-depth exploration of Jerome's polemic to discredit the Priscillianists. Vincent, on the other hand, used the Gnostic 'type'

in a more restrained manner than Jerome. Simon's alleged successor Nicolas of Antioch, who supposedly founded the Nicolaitan sect, was accused mainly of sexual libertarianism, and is the subject of chapter six. I decided to include this essay because Simon and Nicolas appear together in every heresiological list as the two foundational 'fathers' of Gnosticism and by extension of all Christian heresies. In chapter eleven on Islam the Nicolaitan sect along with Simon Magus reappear in the eleventh and twelfth centuries to denounce Muhammad's polygamy.

Chapter eight brings together the patristic commentary on the most retold story about Simon Magus: his confrontation mainly with Peter but also Paul in Rome and his subsequent death amidst spectacular miracles in the presence of the Emperor Nero and a throng of admirers. The entire episode is taken from the apocryphal Simon Magus not the one in the Gnostic tradition or the New Testament. It serves as an example also as to how widely the apocryphal Simon Magus was known and how deeply these stories penetrated the theological intelligentsia of the Church.

Several studies in the volume engage topics in the Middle Ages. Chapter nine delves into yet another frequently repeated apocryphal story: an episode where Simon Magus conjures up ravenous dogs to attack Simon Peter. To fully appreciate this tale in the *Passion of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul* and other sources that the article identifies I explore the 'typology' of dog in antiquity, the patristic era, and Middle Ages, including the rare instances where the scene is recreated in art. Simon Magus was incorporated into Irish and Anglo-Saxon sources which represent some of the most imaginative and interesting adaptations as chapter ten demonstrates. One theme that comes through in all of the chapters so far discussed is the promotion of the Petrine primacy via the successors of Peter in Rome. In chapter eleven the Petrine triumph was not central to the purposes of Embrico of Mainz and Peter the Venerable, however. Their primary aim in their own unique ways was to establish the heretical nature of Islam. Although Peter the Venerable returned to the patristic sources he did not resort to utilizing the Simon Magus 'type' to associate him somehow with Muhammad. Other contemporary anonymous sources certainly did so, as did Embrico of Mainz. As far as I know there are no artistic depictions of Simon Magus or Nicolas of Antioch with Muhammad.

The following three studies center upon topics related to the Iberian

Peninsula in the Middle Ages. The figure of Simon Magus was prominent in homilies and in popular piety. A good example is in chapter twelve where I explore the Catalan sermon for St. Peter's Feast by the fourteenth century Dominican Vincent Ferrer. He was renowned for his eloquent powerful preaching and miracles. In this sermon he deftly interwove the canonical and apocryphal sources of Simon Magus in a style rich with imagery and practical application for the mainly lay audience who heard it. In the immense amount of homiletical material from the Middle Ages there exists undoubtedly many whose subject is Simon Magus and other apocryphal figures and themes. Chapters thirteen and fourteen explore the artistic representations of Simon Magus in the Cathedrals of León and Oviedo. In the first Simon Magus is present in a chapel dedicated to Pope Clement I and in the second within an ambulatory chapel in honor of Simon Peter. The chapel in León combines in a singular unique way the figures of Pope Clement I, Simon Magus, and Martin of Tours. The Oviedo chapel draws all of its inspiration for the life of Peter from the Christian Apocrypha and the main piece is an exquisite polychrome wood relief that is well preserved that recreates the Fall of Simon Magus. I am convinced that there are more artistic representations of Simon Magus in the Iberian Peninsula and in the rest of Europe that have not been adequately researched. The example from Palencia that I mentioned earlier confirms my point.

Chapter fifteen closes out the volume with an inventory of ninety-nine artistic representations of Simon Magus in all the major artistic mediums spanning from the third to eighteenth centuries. The bibliography that accompanies each entry illustrates that some have received much scholarly attention while others have not been studied at all. The most abundant by theme is the Fall of Simon Magus. It is my hope that this inventory will encourage others to delve into this fascinating artistic material and unfold for us the rich meaning and pedagogy they were intended to convey.

This volume of essays would not have been possible without much assistance and encouragement this past fifteen years. Jeffrey B. Russell, my mentor and friend, every step of the way was generous with encouragement and constructive critique. I owe him an enormous debt for his genuine interest in this work. Seattle Pacific University my home institution consistently provided me with funding when needed to bring this work to completion. A Sabbatical leave allowed me to write good solid drafts for most of the articles. I am grateful

to Brill for accepting my proposal to publish this group of essays. I thank especially Julian Deahl, Senior Acquisitions Editor, Robert Bast, Editor of the Studies in the History of Christian Traditions series, Tanja Cowall, Editor and Irene van Rossum, Acquisitions Editor (History) for their guidance and patience with my numerous requests for clarification. Also, to the many institutions and journals who were so willing to grant permission to republish the essays. Lastly, I extend my thanks to my research assistant Alicia Hoffer who typed crucial portions of this work for me.

Alberto Ferreiro
Seattle Pacific University
22 February 2005
Feast of the Chair of Peter

CHAPTER ONE

SIMON MAGUS: THE PATRISTIC-MEDIEVAL TRADITIONS AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

Of the many villainous personalities of the Old and New Testaments few captured the attention of patristic and medieval biblical exegetes as did Simon Magus. The two principal sources about Simon Magus that perpetuated his memory are found in the *Acts of the Apostles* 8:9–24, in the canonical *New Testament*; the second source is in two apocryphal Christian documents known as the *Actus Petri cum Simone* (*Acts of Peter*) and the *Passio Sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli* (*Passio*).¹ In the ensuing centuries, however, Simon Magus was transformed by the Church into the quintessential “bad guy”—who allegedly embodied and engendered every imaginable form of doctrinal error and moral depravity. Another fascinating development is the emergence of parallel Simon Magus tales that had either minimal or not any dependency whatsoever upon the canonical or apocryphal traditions.

Almost four years ago I initiated a search to collect *in toto* references to Simon Magus in patristic and medieval sources, including any relevant modern scholarship. My larger agenda is to write a booklength monograph, *Simon Magus in the Early Christian and Medieval Tradition*, and what I offer here is an overview of the research that lies ahead. These efforts received enormous support from the *UCLA Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies* through a summer 1992 fellowship awarded to me by the Center, that allowed me to retrieve

¹ The text of the *Acts of Peter* is found in *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet (ed.), Ohlms: Hildesheim-New York, 1972, pp. 45–103; in the same volume the text of the *Passio* is at pp. 119–177. For a translation of the *Acts of Peter*, see *New Testament Apocrypha*, W. Schneemelcher (ed.) and R. McL. Wilson (trans.), vol. 2, Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1965, pp. 279–322. A translation of the *Passio* may be found in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 8, Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1951, pp. 477–485. Two studies that address issues surrounding the *Acts of Peter* and with rich bibliography are by G. Poupon, “Les Actes de Pierre et leur remaniement”, *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II, 25, 6 (1988), pp. 4363–4383 and C. M. Thomas, “Word and Deed: The *Acts of Peter* and Orality”, *Apocrypha* 3 (1992), pp. 125–164. A thorough study of the *Passio* and its survival in the medieval centuries has never been carried out. In my book-length monograph I intend to remedy this neglect.

from the *Princeton Index of Christian Art* all of their catalogued iconography on Simon Magus. Having now completed this preliminary groundwork it has now become clear that several distinct Simon Magus legends circulated widely in the post-New Testament centuries. The intent of this article is to present a brief description of each tradition, a select survey of notable modern research, an identification of the major sources, and avenues of investigation that require further inquiry.

Seven major traditions are clearly identifiable, they are: (1) Simon Magus as the first Gnostic and founder of that sect; (2) Simon Magus/Simon Peter confrontations involving Mad Dogs; (3) Simon Magus in Irish ecclesiastical folklore and in the Celtic-Irish/Anglo-Saxon tonsure debates; (4) Simon Magus as founder of a pseudo-apostolic succession; (5) Simon Magus in Christian anti-Muslim polemics; (6) Simon Magus as the father of filthy lucre-simony; and (7) the aerial flight of Simon Magus made possible by demonic assistance. In every instance, where applicable, attention will be given to identify artistic depictions of these distinctive legends.

1. *Simon Magus and Gnosticism*

If there is one single area of research on Simon Magus that has solicited significant scholarly attention, it has been within the field of Gnostic studies.² Irenaeus in his *Against Heresies* claimed that Simon

² The literature on Simon Magus and Gnosticism is voluminous, I cite here a very selective listing. One of the earliest studies is by A. Redlich, "Die 'Ἀπόφασις des Simon Magus'", *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 23 (1909-1910). pp. 374-399, 537-548. A collection of seminal studies are gathered in L. Cerfaux, *Recueil Lucien Cerfaux*, vol. 1 (Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 6-7), Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1954. An important study on Hippolytus is by J. Frickel, *Die "apophasis megale" in Hippolyt's Refutatio*, VI 9-18. *Eme Paraphrase zur "Apophasis" Simons* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 182), Roma, 1968. Fundamental still J. M. A. Salles-Dabadie, *Recherches sur Simon le Mage. 1. L'"apophasis megale"* (Cahiers de la Revue Biblique 10), Paris, 1969. An overview with revisionist ideas is in K. Beyschlag, "Zur Simon Magus Frage", *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 68 (1971), pp. 395-426, and equally valuable B. Aland, "Die Apophasis Megale und die simonianische Gnosis", *Theologie und Philosophie* 48 (1973), pp. 410-418. An extensive investigation is in K. Beyschlag, *Simon Magus und die christliche Gnosis* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 16), Tübingen, 1974. In a broader Gnostic context see A. Hilgenfeld, "Der Gnostizismus", in *Gnosis und Gnostizismus*, K. Rudolph (ed.) (Wege der Forschung 262), Darmstadt, 1975, pp. 174-230. See also K. Rudolph, "Simon Magus oder Gnosticus?", *Theologische Rundschau* 42 (1977), pp. 279-359. On

Magus had not only founded the Gnostic sect of the Simonians, but was also the spiritual "father" of all of Gnosticism in general.³ This claim by Irenaeus became the catalyst that moved modern scholars to embark upon the quest to confirm the "historical" links between the Simon Magus in the *Acts of the Apostles* and the sect of the Simonians who allegedly continued to perpetuate his teachings. The belief by patristic writers that Simon Magus had established Gnosticism became widespread as evidenced by the detailed references in the writings of Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, Hippolytus, *Against all Heresies*, the *Constitutions of the Apostles*, the *Pseudo-Clementines*, and the *Panarion* by Epiphanius of Salamis.⁴ Wayne Meeks, in a recent historiographical essay, has noted that the efforts by modern scholars to confirm the connections between the canonical Simon Magus and any form of Gnosticism, and specifically the Simonians has come to a dead end:

the question of origins see R. McL. Wilson, "Simon and Gnostic Origins", in *Les Actes des Apôtres. Traditions, rédaction, théologie*, J. Kremer (ed.) (Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 48), Leuven, 1979, pp. 485-491. A study that engages Simonians together with Simon Magus is by J. Fossum, "The Simonian Sophia Myth", *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni* 11 (1987), pp. 185-197. An essay which considers Simonianism in regard to the *Acts of the Apostles* is in G. Lüdemann, "The Acts of the Apostles and the beginnings of Simonian Gnosis", *New Testament Studies* 33 (1987), pp. 420-426.

³ Irenaeus, *Contra haereses* (PG 7, 670-680; and the edition by A. Rousseau and L. Doutreleau, *Irenée de Lyon, Contre les hérésies. Livre I, tome 2* [Sources chrétiennes 264], Paris, 1979, pp. 312-321). Studies connecting Marcion and Simonianism are in F. M. Braun, "Marcion et la gnose simonienne", *Byzantion* 25-27 (1955-1957), pp. 631-648. An extensive well documented study is by G. Lüdemann, *Untersuchungen zur simonianischen Gnosis*, Göttingen, 1975. See also S. Arai, "Simonianische Gnosis und die Exegese über die Seele", in *Gnosis and Gnosticism. Papers read at the Seventh International Conference on Patristic Studies (Oxford, September 8th-13th 1975)*, M. Krause (ed.) (Nag Hammadi Studies 8), Leiden, 1977, pp. 185-203 and by the same author, "Zum 'Simonianischen' in *Authlog* und *Brontë*", in *Gnosis and Gnosticism. Papers read at the Eighth International Conference on Patristic Studies (Oxford, September 3rd-8th 1979)*, M. Krause (ed.) (Nag Hammadi Studies 17) Leiden, 1981, pp. 3-15.

⁴ Irenaeus, *Contra haereses* (PG 7, 670-680; SC 264, 312-321); Hippolytus, *Refutatio omnium haeresium* (ed. P. Wendland, *Refutatio omnium haeresium* [Hippolytus Werke 3; GCS 26], Leipzig, 1916, pp. 134-232); *Constitutions of the Apostles* (PG 1, 919-932; and the edition by M. Metzger, *Les constitutions apostoliques. Livres III-VI*, tome 2 [Sources chrétiennes 329], Paris, 1986, pp. 310-321); Pseudo-Clement, *Recognitiones* (ed. B. Rehm, *Die Pseudoklementinen, II. Rekognitionen in Rufins Übersetzung*, zum Druck besorgt durch F. Paschke [GCS 51], Berlin, 1965); Epiphanius, *Panarion* (ed. K. Holl, *Ancoratus und Panarion haer. 1-33* [Epiphanius 1; GCS 1], Leipzig, 1915, pp. 238-267; trans. F. Williams, *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis. Book 1 (Sects 1-46)* [Nag Hammadi Studies 35], Leiden, 1987, pp. 55-62). A survey of Simon Magus in patristic literature is in H. Waitz, "Simon Magus in der altchristlichen Literatur", *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums* 5 (1904), pp. 121-143.

"The use of reports about Simon Magus as evidence for a pre-Christian gnosticism has been effectively refuted" . . . and "The quest for the historical Simon (and Helena!) is even less promising than the quest for the historical Jesus".⁵ The labors of scholars, however, have been fruitful insofar as they have attained a better understanding about what patristic writers taught concerning the origins of Gnosticism and the sect of the Simonians.⁶ Fortunately, not all scholarly inquiry has come to an end on this topic. There is another area of research regarding Simon Magus and Gnosticism that is deserving of attention.

As patristic writers attempted to create typological bridges between the canonical Simon Magus and Gnosticism they did not all create an identical "type". To date, there has never been a study that fully unfolds the various portraits of Simon Magus and his female companion Helena who also occupies a significant place in these sources.⁷ Equally instructive is the proliferation of their images beyond the third century, especially the tantalizing portrayal of Helena as here-siarcha and companion of Simon Magus. Some patristic writers went so far as to suggest a female line of heretics initiated by Helena that paralleled the male one established by Simon Magus.⁸ There are

⁵ Wayne A. Meeks, "Simon Magus in recent research", *Religious Studies Review* 3, 3 (1977), pp. 137-142, at 141.

⁶ For the origins of Simonianism in addition to the studies in notes 2, 3, and 4 above see R. P. Richardson, "Paul, alias Simon the Magician", *Open Court* 44 (1930), pp. 467-488 and H.-J. Schoeps, "Simon Magus in der Haggada?", *Hebrew Union College Annual* 21 (1948), pp. 257-274. A brief survey is in R. M. Grant, "The Earliest Christian Gnosticism", *Church History* 22 (1953), pp. 81-97. Useful are the little known essays by G. Ory, "Simon (dit le magicien) Dieu sauveur des Samaritains", *Cahiers du Cercle Ernest-Renan* 2, 5 (1955), pp. 1-16, and "La 'conversion' de Simon le Magicien", *Cahiers du Cercle Ernest-Renan* 3, 9 (1956), pp. 1-16. For broader and fascinating studies see R. McL. Wilson, "Simon, Dositheus and the Dead Sea Scrolls", *Zeitschrift für Religions und Geistesgeschichte* 9 (1957), pp. 21-30; H. J. W. Drijvers, "Quq and the Quqites", *Numen* 14 (1967), pp. 104-129; A. F. Rainey, "Gath-Padalla", *Israel Exploration Journal* 18 (1968), pp. 1-14; see also R. Bergmeier, "Zur Frühdatierung Samaritanischer Theologumena", *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 5 (1974), pp. 121-153; J. Fossum, "The origin of the Gnostic concept of Demiurge", *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 61 (1985), pp. 142-152.

⁷ Studies on Helena are in L.-H. Vincent, "Le culte d'Hélène a Samarie", *Revue Biblique* 45 (1936), pp. 221-232; G. Quispel, "Simon en Helena", *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 5 (1951), pp. 339-345; G. Ory, "Le mythe Samaritain d'Hélène", *Cahiers du Cercle Ernest-Renan* 3, 12 (1956), pp. 1-32; D. Flusser, "The great goddess of Samaria", *Israel Exploration Journal* 25 (1975), pp. 13-20. Also, the studies below in note 8.

⁸ A. Ferreiro, "Sexual depravity, doctrinal error, and character assassination in the fourth century: Jerome against the Priscillianists", *Studia Patristica* 28 (1993), pp.

two known representations of Helena in patristic and medieval art respectively from each era.⁹ In light of the importance of Gnostic studies for the study of Early Christianity a survey as described above will enlighten our understanding as to how patristic exegetes explained the origins of Gnosticism through their respective portraits of Simon Magus and Helena.

2. *Simon Magus and Mad Dogs*

In the *Acts of Peter* and the *Passio* there are two distinct episodes involving dogs. In the first Simon Peter pacifies a guard dog at the house of Marcellus, gives him the power to speak with a human voice, and in the end together they confound the machinations of Simon Magus.¹⁰ In the *Passio*, Peter and Paul have a confrontation with Simon Magus in the presence of the Emperor Nero. Simon Magus magically conjures up rabid dogs to attack and discredit the apostolic authority of Peter, but the apostle presents the dogs blessed bread which he had previously hidden in his sleeves and causes the animals to disappear. The superior nature of Peter's power and authority is vindicated and it results in the humiliation of Simon Magus.¹¹

Both canine encounter stories have been the object of research by a few modern scholars. What has been accomplished up to now is of a limited and specialized nature, that is, not one study has ever carried out a full systematic survey of these legends for the patristic and medieval centuries. One of the earliest studies by Geneseo Turcio, although very brief, brought to the attention of the scholarly community the abiding endurance of these legends in the art and literature of the Middle Ages.¹² Christine M. Thomas, in a recent article, analyzed the internal problems of the *Acts of Peter*, yet as in the case

29–38 and Idem, "Jerome's polemic against Priscillian in his *Letter to Ctesiphon* (133,4)", *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 39 (1993), pp. 309–332.

⁹ See the studies in note 7, especially the study by L.-H. Vincent, "Le culte d'Hélène à Samarie", which has a plate of a statue of Helena. She appears also in the archivolt sculpture at Sessa Aurunca; see Dorothy Glass, "The archivolt sculpture at Sessa Aurunca", *The Art Bulletin* 52(1970), pp. 119–131.

¹⁰ *Acts of Peter*, pp. 45–104, especially in chapters 9–12, pp. 56–60.

¹¹ *Passio*, chapters 24–27, pp. 139–143.

¹² G. Turcio, "San Pietro e i Cani", *Ecclesia* 7 (1948), pp. 297–299.

of many previous scholarly efforts it does not press beyond the parameters of the second and third centuries.¹³ The study by Dorothy Glass, while focusing specifically on the church at Sessa Aurunca, considers appropriately only the *Passio* story as it relates to this medieval monument, and once again while fruitful it is still limited in scope.¹⁴ In all fairness it should be noted that none of these scholars had any aspirations to treat of their material in comprehensive fashion and I do not desire in any way to detract from the quality and importance of their research. Art, however, is not the only medium through which these legends survived. The Simon Magus dog legends are found in a wide variety of literatures and art forms of the Early Christian era and the Middle Ages and they are in every instance utilized with unrestrained creativity. Furthermore, there are many questions and areas that require careful investigation in a broader context as to how these apocryphal dog stories proliferated and were adapted across the centuries.

The dog stories in the *Acts of Peter* and the *Passio* did not fade, rather they became some of the most enduring and popular legends well beyond the third century. In the patristic era we have traces in a few lines in the poem *Carmen de duobus populis* by Commodianus. Even more remarkable is their preservation in four sarcophagi reliefs originating from Verona, Mantua, one from Italy which is now lost and was deposited at Nîmes, and still another of Italian origin now conserved at Cracow, and all dating from the fourth century. There is also an adaptation of Simon Magus and the dogs in a fourth century Hebrew anti-Christian satirical gospel known as the *Toldoth Jeshu*.¹⁵

¹³ C. M. Thomas, "Word and Deed", pp. 125-164.

¹⁴ D. Glass, "The archivolt sculpture at Sessa Aurunca", pp. 119-131.

¹⁵ Studies on Commodianus and the text are in I. Martin (ed.), *Commodianus Carmen de duobus populis* (CCSL 128), Turnhout, 1960, p. 96, lines 626 and 629-630; H. Brewer, *Kommodian von Gaza. Ein Arelatensischer Laiendichter aus der Mitte des fünften Jahrhunderts* (Forschungen zur christlichen Literatur und Dogmengeschichte 6), Paderborn, 1906, pp. 317-318. On questions relating to dates and redaction see K. Ihraede, "Beiträge zur Datierung Commodians", *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 2 (1959), pp. 90-114. A broader discussion is in J. Fontaine, *Naissance de la poésie dans l'occident chrétien* (Études Augustiniennes), 1981, pp. 39-52. Discussions on the sarcophagi are in G. Stuhlfauth, *Die apocryphen Petrusgeschichten in der altchristlichen Kunst*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1925, pp. 3-9, but this work includes only a photograph of the Mantua piece, at p. 4 G. Wilpert, *I Sarcophagi Crstiani Antichi. Testo*, vol. 2, Rome, 1932, pp. 348-351, has both the Mantua and Verona sarcophagi. A discussion is also in G. Turcio, "San Pietro e i Cani", p. 299. A drawing of the now missing Nîmes sarcophagus is in E. Le Blant, *Les sarcophages chrétiens de la Gaule* (Collection

In medieval sources the canine legends appear in the *Blickling Homilies*, Orderic Vitalis, Amatus of Montecassino and in a twelfth century liturgical hymn dedicated to the feast day of Peter and Paul.¹⁶ The single major source to popularize the stories far and wide is the thirteenth century *Golden Legend* by Jacobus of Voragine. A tantalizing element in this source are the addendums to both legends that Jacobus liberally incorporated into his own narrative. He also, for example, in addition to the *Acts of Peter* and the *Passio* made use of the *Acta S.S. Nerei et Achillei* when describing the dog confrontations.¹⁷ What easily qualifies as the lengthiest and most imaginative re-telling of the dog legends is found in a 6135 line fifteenth-century Provençal mystery play known as the *Istoria Petri et Pauli*.¹⁸ These and many

de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, série 3: archéologie), Paris, 1886, p. 114, no. 136. The Cracow sarcophagus is analyzed by J. A. Ostrowski, "Apocryphal and Canonical Scenes. Some Remarks on the Iconography of the Sarcophagus from the Collection of the National Museum in Cracow", in *Études consacrées à Marie Louise Bernhard par ses amis, collaborateurs et élèves*, M. Marciniak (ed.) (Études et Travaux 13; Travaux du Centre d'archéologie méditerranéenne de l'académie polonaise des sciences, 26), 1978, pp. 305-309. This article includes the Verona and Nîmes sarcophagi. The *Toldoth Jesu* is translated with commentary in H. J. Schonfield, *According to the Hebrews*, London, 1937.

¹⁶ R. Morris (ed.), *The Blickling Homilies of the Tenth Century* [EETS 58], London, 1880, pp. 170-193; Orderic Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiastica* (PL 188, 128-133); A. Lentini (ed.), *Il Poema di Amato su S. Pietro Apostolo*, 2 vols (Miscellanea Cassinese 30-31), Montecassino, 1958; the text is at 1, 132. The hymn which draws from the *Passio* is in C. Blume (ed.), *Sequentiae ineditae. Liturgische Prosen des Mittelalters*, vol. 5 (Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi 37), Leipzig, 1901, p. 244. Relevant lines are reproduced and analyzed by J. Szövérfy, *Psallat Chorus Caelestium. Religious Lyrics of the Middle Ages* (Medieval Classics 15), Berlin, 1983, pp. 298-299. There is also an allusion in D. S. Wrangham, *The Liturgical Poetry of Adam of St. Victor: from the text of Gauthier*, vol. 2, London, 1881, p. 87.

¹⁷ The Latin text is in Th. Graesse (ed.), *Jacobi a Voragine Legenda Aurea*, reprint of 1890 edition, Osnabrück, 1969, pp. 368-379. See the translation by W. G. Ryan, *The Golden Legend. Readings on the Saints*, vol. 1, Princeton, 1992, pp. 340-350. For a study on Jacobus's use of the term "apocrypha" see, R. Gounelle, "Sens et usage d'*apocryphus* dans la *Légende Dorée*", *Apocrypha* 5 (1994), pp. 189-210. Editions of the *Acta Nerei et Achillei* are: the Latin version, *Acta Sanctorum Maii*, vol. 3, Paris, 1866, pp. 4-16, the dog story is at 9-10. Greek text editions are by A. Wirth, *Acta S.S. Nerei et Achillei graece*, Leipzig, 1890, and H. Achelis, *Acta S.S. Nerei et Achillei* (Texte und Untersuchungen 11.2), Leipzig, 1893. For textual questions see also F. Schaefer, "Die Acten der Heiligen Nereus und Achilleus", *Römische Quartalschrift* (1894), pp. 89-119.

¹⁸ P. Guillaume (ed.), *Istoria Petri et Pauli. Mystère en langue provençale du XV^e siècle, publié d'après le manuscrit original*, Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1977 (1887). Remarks on this mystery play are in M. Lazar, "The Saint and the Devil: Christological and Diabological Typology in Fifteenth Century Provençal Drama", in *Essays in Early French Literature presented to Barbara M. Crag*, N. J. Lacy and J. C. Nash (ed.), York, South Carolina, 1982, pp. 81-92, at pp. 84-88.

other sources have yet to be studied as a cohesive testimony so as to determine what novel alterations were made to the original stories as they were passed down over time. The medieval art depicting the dog stories is as diverse in its forms as it is in its interpretations. The apocryphal dog scene from the *Passio* in medieval art is preserved in the archivolt sculpture in the Cathedral of Sessa Aurunca (Italy), a lost piece for which we have a line drawing from San Piero a Grado (near Pisa), an illumination in a Vatican Library *Latin Passional*, and a fresco in the cloister church at Münstair, Switzerland. Lastly, there is a possible disputed relief on the tomb of Pope Sixtus IV which may depict some of the *Acts of Peter* material involving the dog.¹⁹ A comparison of the art and the literary narratives likewise reveals a wide array of creative exegesis and adaptations by medieval interpreters.

The last area meriting attention is the typological image of the dog in literature and theological texts external to but including the apocryphal material in patristic and medieval thought. By casting the apocryphal dogs in a broader context it makes it possible to determine its own unique canine typology, its contribution to the wider typology of dog, and to ascertain specific borrowing from sources contemporaneous to and possibly those predating the apocryphal writings. A suggestive morsel, for example, is the similarity between the Greek legend about the dog Cerberus, the guardian of Hell, in a version of Virgil's *Aeneid* and the dog story in the *Passio*.²⁰

¹⁹ An in-depth study on Sessa Aurunca is in D. Glass, "The Archivolt Sculpture at Sessa Aurunca", *The Art Bulletin* 52, 2 (1970), pp. 119-131, especially at 125-128, and for the dogs figure 16. Useful also are C. Stornajolo, "I rilievi dell'arco sul portico della cattedrale di Sessa Aurunca", *Dissertazioni della Pontificia Accademia* 6, 2 (1896), pp. 163-180. and A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte Italiana*, vol. 3: *L'arte romanica*. Milano, 1904, pp. 570-571, figures 532, 534, 535. An extensive study of the church S. Piero a Grado is by P. D'Achiardi, "Gli affreschi di S. Piero a Grado presso Pisa e quelli già esistenti nel portico della basilica vaticana", in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di scienze storiche (Roma 1-9 aprile 1903)*, vol. 7: *Atti della Sezione IV. Storia dell'arte*, Rome, 1905 (Kraus Reprint, 1972), pp. 193-285. especially at 212-216 and 257-258. A microfiche copy of the *Latin Passional* is in the *Princeton Index of Christian Art* under the Simon Magus file, 32R76LV+82, 10A, Roma Lib. Bibl. Vaticana, lat. 8541, *Passional*. A thorough study of the fresco at Münstair is in B. Brenk, *Die romanische Wandmalerei in der Schweiz* (Basler Studien zur Kunstgeschichte 5). Bern, 1963. pp. 44-49 and figure 21. A brief description of the Pope Sixtus IV tomb relief is in Turcio, "San Pietro e i Cani" (n. 12), p. 299.

²⁰ R. D. Williams (ed.), *The Aeneid of Virgil. Books 1-6*, New York-London, 1972, p. 138 and notes at 484. The *Passio*, 27, 8-11, p. 143. For Cerberus in the Middle Ages see J. J. Savage, "The Medieval Tradition of Cerberus", *Traditio* 7 (1949-51), pp. 405-410.

Do we have here a Virgilian influence on the *Passio*? These and many other questions will fill a void in our present understanding as to how the apocryphal dog legends were handed down and entered into the wider medieval typological dog tradition.

3. *Simon Magus in Ireland and England*

The presence of Simon Magus legends in Ireland and England is a compelling case study of two traditions which are virtually independent of both the *New Testament* and the apocryphal legends. And there is a third artistic one that does have direct dependencies on the apocryphal material, but it is also quite innovative in its adaptation.

In the first, Simon Magus is associated with a sinister Druid priest named Mog Ruith and together they plot the horrifying beheading of John the Baptist. The account draws from the New Testament only in so far as it borrows the person of John the Baptist; it certainly has absolutely no dependency on the *Acts of the Apostles* and is far more removed from the apocryphal accounts. Even though several textual studies have engaged fundamental paleographical issues, there are still many questions regarding the origins and purpose of this intriguing murder story.²¹

The second Simon Magus legend originates from the works of Venerable Bede and Aldhelm of Malmesbury. In the *Historia Ecclesiastica* Bede invoked Simon Magus within the context of the tonsure debates between the Celtic-Irish monks and the Continental Benedictines. According to Bede, the Irish were guilty of wearing the tonsure of Simon Magus while the Benedictines claimed that theirs was patterned after that worn by the Apostle John. Aldhelm recalled these confrontations over tonsures in one of his works and there are other English and Irish sources such as the *Leabhar Breac* and Aelfric and even some Continental sources that are relevant on these issues.²²

²¹ For sources see J. F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, vol. 1: *Ecclesiastical* (Records of civilization 11), New York, 1966. Specific studies are by A. M. Scarre, "The Beheading of John the Baptist by Mog Ruith", *Eriu* 4 (1910), pp. 173-181; D. MacKinnon, "The executioner of John the Baptist", *The Celtic Review* 8 (1912-13), pp. 168-170; K. Müller-Lisowski, "Texte zur Mog Ruith Sage", *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 14 (1923), pp. 145-163; ead., "La légende de St. Jean dans la tradition Irlandaise et le Druide Mog Ruith", *Études celtiques* 3 (1938), pp. 46-70.

²² Texts and editions are in B. Thorpe, *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church. Homilies of Aelfric*, vol. 1. London, 1844, pp. 364-385; R. Atkinson, *The Passions and*

Edward James in a seminal article on haircuts in early medieval culture, "Bede and the Tonsure Question", touched upon the broader social and ecclesiastical implications of haircuts. He does cite briefly the references from Bede on Simon Magus; but once again, an in-depth study of these sources is desirable and awaits us.²³ As in our first example, this tradition is independent from the *Acts of the Apostles* and the apocryphal accounts on Simon Magus.

The third legend is found in the not so abundant artistic tradition and it is not connected with the two previously described traditions. The art in question is contained in several Irish crosses located at Market Place-Kells, Monasterboice, and a possible disputed third one at Castledermot.²⁴ All three of the crosses draw their inspiration from the apocryphal accounts describing the aerial flight of Simon Magus made possible by the aid of demonic powers.²⁵ The three crosses do have their peculiar way of capturing this aerial display by Simon Magus when we compare them to Continental depictions of this scene. The Continental artistic pieces invariably prominently display the demons holding up Simon Magus, Peter kneeling on the pavement praying to God to thwart such a prideful display of false power, and the slamming of Simon Magus on the pavement as his power (demonic) is removed as a result of Peter's prayers. The Irish crosses show Simon Magus falling headfirst and striking the pavement, with the crosiers of both Peter and Paul either jammed into his mouth or around his neck. The demons are not visibly displayed nor Peter kneeling in prayer, although anyone familiar with the story would have been acquainted with this basic background. The focus of the crosses is clearly upon the episcopal authority of the chief

the Homilies from Leabhar Breac (Todd Lectures Series 2), Dublin, 1887, pp. 64-68; 304-309; 86-95; 329-339. For a brief discussion of the *Leabhar Breac* see, M. McNamara, *The Apocrypha in the Irish Church*, Dublin, 1975, pp. 11-12; M. Lapidge and M. Herren (trans.) *Aldhelm. The Prose Works*, Cambridge, 1979, pp. 51-58; 108-111; 136-143 and 155-161.

²³ E. James, "Bede and the Tonsure Question", *Peritia* 3 (1984) pp. 85-98.

²⁴ See A. Kingsley Porter, *The Crosses and Culture of Ireland*, 1931, p. 123; F. Henry, *La sculpture Irlandaise pendant les douze premiers siècles de l'ère chrétienne*, vol. 2: Planches, Paris, 1933, plate 2; R. A. S. Macalister, *Monasterboice Co. Louth*, Dundalk, 1946, pp. 1-13 and 45-53; H. M. Roe, *The High Crosses of Kells*, Meath Archaeological and Historical Society, 1975, pp. 10-13; 22-29; 36-41; idem, *Monasterboice and its Monuments. County Louth*, 1981, pp. 44-49 and 54-55.

²⁵ The flying incident is in the *Acts of Peter*, chapter 32, pp. 82-85. In the *Passio*, chapters 54-56, pp. 164-167.

apostles, as represented by the crosiers, and here they are credited in dramatic fashion with bringing down the false magician Simon Magus.

All of these literary and artistic traditions require careful internal scrutiny and they need to be interpreted in relation to the broader ecclesiastical developments on the Continent. One thing is surely apparent in this most cursory presentation; in Ireland and England we find two uniquely independent adaptations of the figure of Simon Magus and in one instance a creative interpretation of the flight of Simon Magus drawn from apocryphal literature.

4. *Simon Magus the pseudo-Apostle*

Simon Magus as founder of a pseudo-apostolic succession derives principally from the anti-Gnostic polemic and is once again another instance of a tradition wholly independent of the *Acts of the Apostles* and the apocryphal legends.²⁶ The same anti-Gnostic writers who created the fascinating portraits of Simon Magus and Helena likewise engendered the idea of a false apostolic succession paralleling and in direct opposition to the legitimate one established by Simon Peter. This concept persisted very strongly in the fourth and fifth centuries and is expanded in the works of Jerome and Vincent of Lérins. I have demonstrated in previous studies how both Church Fathers elaborated the notion of a Simon Magus pseudo-succession that continued well beyond Gnostic successors.²⁷ Jerome, in what is perhaps his most creative exegesis, suggested a female pseudo-succession stemming from Helena and paralleling the male line initiated by Simon Magus. Writers such as Augustine, Filastrius of Brescia, Isidore of Seville and others mediated various forms of this concept to the Middle Ages.²⁸ Medieval writers did not abandon this idea;

²⁶ See the sources in note 4 above.

²⁷ See my articles (n. 8), "Sexual depravity, doctrinal error", pp. 29–38, "Jerome's polemic against Priscillian", pp. 309–332 and "Simon Magus and Priscillian in the *Commonitorium* of Vincent of Lérins", *Vigiliae Christianae* 49 (1995), pp. 180–188.

²⁸ Augustine, *De haeresibus* 1 (Aurelii Augustini opera 13, 2; CCL 46, p. 290); Filastrius of Brescia, *Diversarum hereseon liber* (CCSL 9, pp. 228–229); Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum* VIII, *De haeresibus Christianorum* 8.5.5 (ed. and trans. J. Oroz Reta et al., *San Isidoro de Sevilla, Etimologías*, vol. 1: *Libros I–X* [Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos 433], Madrid, 1982, pp. 692–702).

rather they continued to associate almost all ancient and medieval heresies ultimately back to Simon Magus. The invocation of Simon Magus into the Celtic/Benedictine tonsure debates described above is evidence of the medieval adaptation of the pseudo-succession idea in Anglo-Saxon England.²⁹ The single common thread in this tradition is that it consistently exalts the primacy of Peter over doctrinal and moral heretics, the successors of Simon Magus. A study of this anti-heretical polemical weapon will yield numerous insights into the use of this specific typology in patristic and medieval doctrinal controversies and no less important the place of the Simon Magus type as the spiritual “father” of them all. I have not discovered any iconography that displays Simon as a pseudo-apostle.

5. *Simon Magus and Muhammad*

The most formidable challenge to the Christian faith came from the eastern Mediterranean with the advent of Islam in the seventh century. It was not until the High Middle Ages, however, when an intensive Christian anti-Muslim polemical literature surfaced to challenge the doctrines and morals of Islam. Medieval attacks of Islam targeted not only doctrine and morals; they also assailed the character of Muhammad as founder of a false religion and deviant morality.

Medieval polemicists who sought to establish the illegitimate origins of Islam associated Muhammad with an enigmatic Magus. The Magus is especially prominent in the popular eleventh century medieval *Vita Mahumeti* written by Embrico of Mainz and he is not the only one to mention this mysterious magician.³⁰ The Magus is portrayed

²⁹ Venerable Bede accused the Irish monks of having been inspired or seduced by the spirit of Simon Magus into adopting an erroneous tonsure in a letter from Abbot Ceolfrid to Nechtan, King of the Picts, which he reproduced at 5. 21, in B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (ed. and trans.), *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, Oxford: University Press, 1969.

³⁰ On Embrico of Mainz see G. Cambier (ed.), *Embricon de Mayence, La vie de Mahomet* (Collection Latomus 52), Bruxelles, 1961, pp. 5–92. For discussion on two anti-Islamic texts in Spain see K. B. Wolf, “The earliest Latin lives of Muhammad”, in *Conversion and Continuity. Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands. Eighth to Eighteenth Centuries*, M. Gervers and R. J. Bikhazi (ed.) (Papers in Mediaeval Studies 9), Toronto, 1990, pp. 89–101. Also Peter the Venerable, *Adversus nefandam sectam Saracenorum libri duo* (PL 189, 663–720; M. Th. D’Alverny, “Pierre le Vénérable et la légende de Mahomet”, in *A Cluny. congrès scientifique, fêtes et cérémonies liturgiques en*

as being responsible for initiating Muhammad into the false teachings that characterize Islam. The *Vita Mahumeti* and other Christian anti-Muslim sources share parallels with the Simon Magus in the *Acts of Peter* and the *Passio* that can hardly be considered coincidental. Two examples are suggestive of creative borrowing and reinterpretation of the apocryphal Simon Magus into the anti-Islamic literary campaign. In some accounts Muhammad flies in the air through the use of magical (demonic) powers and he fails in an effort to imitate the resurrection of Jesus Christ. Both of these deceptive feats are reported of Simon Magus in the apocryphal texts.³¹ Medieval writers, who had to challenge Islamic morality, continued their assault by borrowing from Early Christian anti-Gnostic sources such as Irenaeus. In separate corollary legends Muhammad is introduced by an ascetic Bahira—later known as Sergius—to yet another mysterious character known as Nicolas, who subsequently is said to have led the Prophet into moral lapses, specifically polygamy.³² According to Irenaeus, the first “successor” of Simon Magus in the line of Gnostic teachers was a Nicolas of Antioch, the purported founder of the Gnostic sect of the Nicolaitans. He was allegedly the same heretical leader of the Nicolaitans that was censured by the apostle John in the *Book of Revelation* (2:14–16). The bishop of Lyons also claimed that this Nicolas in John’s *Revelation* was also one of seven deacons consecrated by the

l'honneur des saints Abbés Odon et Odilon, 9–11 juillet 1949, travaux du congrès Art, Histoire, Liturgie, Dijon, 1950, pp. 161–170; Eulogius of Cordoba (ed. I. Gil, *Corpus Scriptorum Muzarabiconum* 2, Madrid, 1973, pp. 483–486).

³¹ I wish to thank John Tolan for letting me consult the typescript of his “Anti-Hagiography: Embrico of Mainz’s *Vita Mahumeti*”, *Journal of Medieval History* (forthcoming). The botched resurrection attempt is found in various texts (see Wolf, “The earliest Latin lives”, p. 97) and is repeated by Eulogius (*Corpus Scriptorum Muzarabiconum*, p. 486). According to the *Passio*, after Simon Magus died from the aborted flight, Nero ordered to keep the body for three days, believing the magician would rise from the dead (57, 13–15, p. 167). For the alleged flight of Muhammad see G. Cambier, “Les sources de la *Vita Mahumeti* d’Embricon de Mayence”, *Latomus* 20 (1961), pp. 364–380, at pp. 375–377, and A. Eckhardt, “Le cercueil flottant de Mahomet”, *Mélanges de philologie romane et de littérature médiévale offerts à E. Hoepffner*, Paris-Strasbourg, 1949, pp. 77–88.

³² See A. D’Ancona, “La Leggenda di Maometto in Occidente”, *Giornale storico della letteratura Italiana* 13 (1889), pp. 199–281; A. Mancini, “Per lo studio della leggenda di Maometto in Occidente”, *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* 10 (1934), pp. 325–349; M. Th. D’Alverny, “Pierre le Vénérable”, pp. 161–170; G. Cambier, “Les sources de la *Vita Mahumeti* d’Embricon de Mayence”, 100–115 and 364–380. For Bahira consult A. J. Wensinck, “Bahira”, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 9, Leiden, 1911, pp. 576–577.

apostles in the *Acts of the Apostles* (6:5–6). As in the case of Simon Magus, Irenaeus created “typological” links between the Nicolas of the *New Testament* and the Gnostic sect of the Nicolaitans which flourished in the beginning of the second century.³³ Although the eminent Clement of Alexandria did not concur with Irenaeus on these alleged connections, the tradition perpetrated by Irenaeus prevailed and proliferated into the Middle Ages.³⁴ As Simon Magus was the “father” of doctrinal error, Nicolas was transformed into the “father” of moral lapses which are characteristic of all heretics. Simon and Nicolas also share a common bit of background: both heretics had lapsed from the apostolic faith. There existed no doubt in the minds of medieval polemicists that Muhammad was clearly in line with the doctrinal and moral error of Simon and Nicolas.

It is rather amazing that most modern researchers at this juncture have not looked seriously at the apocryphal Simon Magus as the possible principal source that inspired the Magus figure in medieval anti-Islamic texts. This has not been the case regarding Nicolas of Antioch. Even so, the typological function of Simon and Nicolas together in medieval polemics against Islam has not been appropriately examined or expounded upon. We encounter again, as in Irish and English sources, creative usages of Simon Magus, and this time directly drawing from the apocryphal narratives of the *Acts of Peter*, the *Passio* and even the Church Fathers. One last example will suffice to demonstrate the “virgin” state of this aspect of Simon Magus research. The exceedingly crucial text known as the *Liber Nicholay*, of which there is a copy at the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris, has

³³ Irenaeus, *Contra haereses* 1, 26, 3 (SC 264, pp. 348–349).

³⁴ Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 3, 4 (ed. O. Stählin, *Stromata Buch I–VI* [Clemens Alexandrinus 2; GCS 1], Leipzig, 1906, pp. 207–208). For the survival of Irenaeus’s interpretations see Augustine, *De haeresibus* 5 (Aurelii Augustini opera 13, 2; CCSL 46, pp. 291–292); Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum* VIII, *De haeresibus Christianorum* 8.5.5 (ed. and trans. J. Oroz Reta et al., *San Isidoro de Sevilla, Etimologías*, vol. 1: *Libros I–X* [Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos 433], Madrid, 1982, pp. 693–695). Relevant studies on the Nicolaitans are by A. von Harnack, “The sect of the Nicolaitans and Nicolaus, The deacon in Jerusalem”, *Journal of Religion* 3 (1923), pp. 413–422; M. Goguel, “Les Nicolaïtes”, *Revue de l’histoire des religions* 58 (1937), pp. 5–36; N. Brox, “Nikolaos und Nikolaiten”, *Vigiliae Christianae* 19 (1965), pp. 23–30; P. Prigent, “L’herésie Asiate et l’église confessante de l’Apocalypse à Ignace”, *Vigiliae Christianae* 31 (1977), pp. 1–22; A. Ferreiro, “Jerome’s polemic against Priscillian”, pp. 316–319. For the heresy of the Nicolaitans in the High Middle Ages see G. B. Borino, “I decreti di Gregorio VII contro i simoniaci e i nicolaiti sono del sinodo quaresimale del 1074”, *Studi gregoriani* 6 (1959–61), pp. 277–295.

never been edited or adequately treated by scholars. M. Th. D'Alverny promised an edition of the manuscript, but to my knowledge it never saw the light of day.³⁵ I do not have any references to illuminations or any other art forms that depict Muhammad with the Magus or with Nicolas of Antioch, but given the lack of full accountability of the iconography in this area of research, we can not rule out the possibility that some might exist.

6. *Simon Magus, Filthy Lucre, and Simony*

The singular image of Simon Magus that dominated the minds of medieval polemicists is that of "simony": the buying and selling of ecclesiastical offices, and rooted directly in the *Acts of the Apostles* 8:9-24. In modern medieval scholarship there has been no shortage of books and articles on this topic.³⁶ There is also no dearth of material from patristic and medieval writers who consistently across the centuries inveighed against this activity. With this said, however, the topic is far from exhausted and there are still some avenues in need of exploration. The apocryphal material, which has hardly been addressed in this context, is not silent about Simon Magus's appetite for money and riches.³⁷ How these apocryphal "money hungry" images compare and supplement that which is found in the *Acts of the Apostles* when both are invoked in medieval polemics is an area requiring attention. Another well known feature of this tradition is the belief by patristic and medieval writers that in the Old Testament a prototype of the simoniacal Simon Magus could be identified.

³⁵ D'Alverny, "Pierre le Vénérable", p. 166, note 2. Also D'Ancona, "La leggenda di Maometto", pp. 199-281. Mancini, "Per lo studio", pp. 325-349, at 330-349.

³⁶ R. A. Ryder, *Simony. An historical synopsis and commentary* (Catholic University of America Canon Law Studies 65), Washington, 1931; J. Leclercq, "Simoniaca heresis", *Studi gregoriani* 1 (1947), pp. 523-530; H. Meier-Welcker, "Die Simonie im frühen Mittelalter", *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 64 (1953-53), pp. 61-93; P. de Vooght, "La 'simoniaca haeresis' selon les auteurs scolastiques", *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 30 (1954), pp. 64-80; J. B. Russell, *Dissent and Reform in the Early Middle Ages* (Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies [UCLA] 1), Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1965, pp. 128-136; J. Weitzel, *Begriff und Erscheinungsformen der Simonie bei Gratian und den Dekretisten* (Münchener Theologische Studien 3. Kanonistische Abteilung 25), München, 1967; J. H. Lynch, *Simoniacal entry into religious life from 1000 to 1260: A social economic and legal study*, Ohio State University, 1979.

³⁷ See the *Acts of Peter* 8, 13-16, p. 55 and 17, 1-25, p. 63.

H.-J. Horn in a groundbreaking study focusing mostly on the Early Christian tradition, yet not wholly ignoring the medieval era, demonstrated how biblical exegetes found that Old Testament type of Simon's simony in the person of Gehazi, the servant of the prophet Elisha, who after hoarding ill-gotten money was struck by Elisha with leprosy (2 Kings 5:19–27).³⁸ In medieval literature, the figure of Gehazi occupied a significant place in anti-simoniactal campaigns as the Church attempted to eradicate this persistent greedy practice. How the relationship of Simon Magus in the *Acts of the Apostles* and in the apocryphal sources and the Old Testament Gehazi changed in the Middle Ages merits further thought. Equally instructive are additional "types" of Simon Magus not rooted in the *Acts of the Apostles* incident, which circulated in patristic and medieval times that promote him as a money loving false teacher. The anti-Gnostic literature comes immediately to mind in this context where Simon Magus does surface as a gigolo seducing wealthy women. Finally, we do possess examples of the sin of simony depicted in art, found primarily in Canon Law texts, and we need to establish what relationship they may have to the various literary traditions.

7. *Simon Magus: The Flight and Crash of a Magician*

There is no argument that Simon's aerial flight with the aid of demonic power became overwhelmingly pervasive in medieval literature and art. The abundance of sources re-telling this apocryphal tale is testimony of the extent that it captured the imagination of the Church. The applications, metaphors, and typological moral lessons derived from the flight of Simon Magus are as diverse as the sources that conserved the story. The flight became more specifically a medium through which the Church censured heresy, insubordination to Church authority, and magic and witchcraft.³⁹ This specific

³⁸ H.-J. Horn, "Giezie und Simonie", *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 8/9 (1965–66), pp. 189–202. See the instructive essay by T. L. Brodie, "Towards unraveling the rhetorical imitation of sources in Acts: 2 Kgs. 5 as one component of Acts 8, 9–40", *Biblica* 67 (1986), pp. 41–67.

³⁹ See L. White, Jr., "Eilmer of Malmesbury. An eleventh century aviator", *Technology and Culture* 2 (1961), pp. 97–111; R. B. Herzman and W. R. Cook, "Simon the Magician and the medieval tradition", *Journal of Magic History* 2 (1980), pp. 29–43; V. I. J. Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe*, Princeton, 1991, pp.

chapter of Simon Magus adventures in the apocryphal accounts is found in almost every tradition that I have already outlined above: from Irish folklore to condemnations against Islam. The numerous works of art which extend well into the sixteenth-century about Simon Magus's flight forever preserved the legend in capitals, windows, frescoes, manuscript illuminations, and sculpture.⁴⁰ The material is so abundant that an exhaustive survey of the art alone would stand on its own merits. What is more tantalizing, however, is to arrive at an understanding of the adaptations of the tale in art and its relationship to the literary traditions that circulated in parallel fashion at every stage of development.

I am thoroughly convinced of the existence of additional iconography of this story and others that have not been entered into the *Princeton Index of Christian Art*. An example of an art piece on the Fall of Simon Magus not catalogued in the *Index* is one found in the tympanum at Neuilly-en-Donjon reproduced with commentary by W. R. Cook.⁴¹ The archivist at the Cathedral of Oviedo, Spain, Dr. Agustín Hevia Ballina, has alerted me to a Simon Magus relief in the altar of the chapel dedicated to Simon Peter. This icon has never been catalogued, researched, much less appended to the *Princeton Index*. In the summer of 1995 I will be in Oviedo to photograph and research the relief so as to determine, among many other things, which of the Simon Magus legends is depicted therein. It is encouraging that efforts by some members of the *Association pour l'étude de la littérature apocryphe chrétienne* to systematically catalogue the presence of all apocryphal themes preserved in iconography may also bring to light other unresearched Simon Magus art pieces.⁴²

338-344. A flying witch is compared to Simon Magus in a document entitled "A marvelous incident at Rheims", reproduced in W. L. Wakefield and A. P. Evans (trans.), *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, Columbia, 1969, pp. 251-254.

⁴⁰ There is not a single volume to date that has exhaustively catalogued and studied these images. For now see Stuhlfauth, *Die apocryphen Petrusgeschichten*; G. Celi, "Sulle memorie e i monumenti dei SS. Apostoli Pietro e Paolo a Roma", *La civiltà cattolica* 86 (1935) pp. 247-257 and 587-594; E. Mâle, *The Gothic Image. Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century*, New York, 1958, pp. 296-299; L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, vol. 3, Paris, 1959, pp. 1225-1226, R. B. Herzman and W. R. Cook, "Simon the Magician", pp. 29-43.

⁴¹ See "A new approach to the tympanum of Neuilly-en-Donjon", *Journal of Medieval History* 4 (1978), pp. 333-345.

⁴² My work and that of Professors David Cartlidge and Claude Bérard at this colloquium will help to remedy this deficiency of our understanding of Simon Magus iconography.

Conclusion

It is all too obvious from the preceding brief select survey of primary and secondary sources on the patristic-medieval Simon Magus traditions that a gold mine of opportunity awaits exploration. Scholars have long recognized the ubiquitous presence of the Simon Magus type in patristic and medieval polemics. What has been lacking up to now is an interdisciplinary study that brings all of this Simon Magus material together into a coherent systematic study of this figure. We have not yet arrived at the full implications of the convergence of apocryphal and canonical sources into what the patristic and medieval Church called Orthodoxy and the central place the arch-villain Simon Magus type had in this complicated fascinating process. My efforts in the next several years will be dedicated to bringing such a study to fruition.

CHAPTER TWO

TEN YEARS OF EDITIONS AND PUBLICATIONS ON NEW TESTAMENT APOCRYPHA

In our own time the New Testament apocryphal writings do not have an important place in the life of the Church much less so in popular devotions. In contrast to this current situation in the patristic and medieval centuries these writings penetrated deeply through texts and art into the worldview of the Church through its theology and in popular devotions. It has only been recently that the academic community began to take an active interest in this fascinating body of documents from the early Church. Modern historiography on apocrypha reveals a veritable cornucopia of research and publications resulting in the creation of a new field of scholarly research. It is similar and it parallels the rise of studies on Gnosticism as a result of the Nag Hammadi discovery also resulting in a bona fide academic sub-discipline of early Christianity. In the case of apocrypha, however, it is not the result of new unknown texts being discovered; instead these are texts already well known but ignored for a long time by academia.

In this brief article about contemporary historiography of Christian Apocrypha I do not pretend to signal all studies rather only the principal contributions and the diverse fields of research that have surfaced in the last ten years.

It is the consensus of researchers that anonymous authors wrote, mainly in the second and third centuries, a collection of documents identified by the modern academy as either 'New Testament' or 'Christian' Apocrypha. These writings in almost every case were never confused with those of the Gnostics, the latter causing a great deal of debate in the emerging Catholic-Orthodox Church. Moreover, the Christian apocrypha did not create excessive problems in relation to the corollary discussions about the texts that in the end came to form the New Testament. In view of the fact that the majority of Christian Apocrypha was not considered dangerous, in terms of questionable doctrine, it received a very broad reception and diffusion in the Latin and Greek Church as well as the Coptic, Armenian

churches among others. This explains very clearly why in the ensuing centuries, even beyond the medieval centuries, the apocryphal corpus penetrated deeply the literature, theology, and art of the Church. In the aftermath of the Reformation, however, the Christian Apocrypha were gradually ignored by the Catholic Church. This marginalization occurred to a much greater extent in the Protestant ecclesial communities. Moreover, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries scholars—Catholic and Protestant—of biblical studies showed virtually no interest in Christian Apocrypha who considered them of little or no relevance and importance especially in comparison to the Bible.¹ In view of this early modern attitude it is hardly surprising that until very recently we knew very little about the textual recension, historical context, diffusion, and role that Christian Apocrypha had in the Church and society in the patristic—medieval periods. This unfortunate state of affairs, such as it was, has experienced a dramatic reversal mainly because of the initiative of a group of Swiss and French scholars at the Universities of Geneva, Fribourg, Neuchâtel, Lausanne, and the École Pratique des Hautes Études in Paris. This group established a scholarly society dedicated exclusively to the study of Christian Apocrypha. What began as a modest initiative by a handful of scholars about thirty years ago now has grown to a significant group representing eastern Europe, Russia, Argentina, United States, Spain, Australia, and many other countries. The University of Lausanne is the official seat of the *Association pour l'étude de la littérature apocryphe chrétienne* (AELAC) from where since 1981 a *Bulletin* has been published detailing recent or in press publications by its members, news of academic meetings, publications that have relevance to Apocrypha studies, and the current state of projects by teams who are producing critical editions for the *Corpus Christianorum*, *Series Apocryphorum* about which I will talk more about below.

Among the many significant events related to AELAC I wish only to point out the following. In 1990 the first volume of the journal *Apocrypha* was published by the prestigious Brepols, and is the only international academic journal dedicated exclusively to Christian

¹ J.-Cl. Picard, "L'apocryphe à l'étroit: notes historiographiques sur le corpus d'apocryphes bibliques," *Apocrypha* 1 (1990) 69–117 and F. Schmidt, "John Toland, critique désiste de la littérature apocryphes," *Apocrypha* 1 (1990) 119–145.

Apocrypha. Of major importance as well was the international meeting, *Colloque sur la littérature apocryphe chrétienne* that met from 22 to 25 March in 1995 at the Universities of Geneva and Lausanne. The success of this meeting was confirmed by the participation of more than one hundred researchers. The colloquium focused on two major themes. The first section explored the production and reception of Christian Apocrypha in medieval literature, iconography, and folklore. The second theme under the title of 'Apocrypha literature and the theological question' centered on the relationship and convergence of Christian Apocrypha with Sacred Scripture. Since the appearance of this article all of the papers at the colloquium have appeared in print in volumes 7 and 8 of the journal *Apocrypha*. I would also like to mention the publication of two seminal and useful books in French: J.-M. Prieur, *Apocryphe chrétiens. Un regard inattendu sur le christianisme ancien*, Aubonne, 1995, who articulates the historical and theological background of the inattention of scholars toward Christian Apocrypha while pointing out research that needs still to be carried out. Along the same lines the collection of suggestive and original essays by J.-D. Kaestli and D. Marguerat (eds.), *Le mystère apocryphe. Introduction à une littérature méconnue* (Essais bibliques, 26). Genève, 1995, are of equal importance.

In a research field that is still at its nascent stage critical editions of the sources are foundational to advance any well grounded studies. In the *Corpus Christianorum* a new series has been established by Brepols titled *Series Apocryphorum* with the intent of bringing to light critical editions of all Christian Apocrypha. The following volumes have appeared as of this writing: É. Junod and J.-D. Kaestli (eds.) *Acta Iohannis*. 2 vols. 1983; L. Leloir (ed.), *Ecrits apocryphes sur les apôtres*, 2 vols. 1986–1992; J. M. Prieur (ed.), *Acta Andrea*, 1989; E. Norelli (ed. et al.), *Ascensio Isaiae*, 2 vols. 1995. Without a doubt one of the most indispensable research tools to appear in the *Series Apocryphorum* is the *Clavis Apocryphorum Novi Testamenti*, 1 vol. edited by M. Geerard, published in 1992. Furthermore, at the moment there are many editions either in press or in preparation for the *Corpus Christianorum. Series Apocryphorum*. It is quite clear that what has been published thus far represents a very small part of apocryphal texts. For that reason it will be several decades before we have in hand *in toto* critical editions of the texts.

The effort by the publisher Brepols to bring to light critical editions and modern analytical studies of apocrypha is not the only

one. In the Netherlands a significant series of critical studies of Apocryphal Acts directed by J. N. Bremmer, titled *Studies on the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, published by Kok Pharos, Kampen, The Netherlands deserves serious consultation. Up to now the following volumes have been published: J. N. Bremmer (ed.), *The Apocryphal Acts of John*, (Studies on the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, 1), Kampen, 1995; by the same editor, *The Apocryphal Acts of Paul and Thecla*, (Studies on the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, 2), Kampen, 1996. In England professor J. K. Elliott (University of Leeds) published two indispensable editions for the English speaking community, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford, 1993, and *The Apocryphal Jesus. Legends of the Early Church*, Oxford: 1996, that demands the attention of any serious scholar.

The wider interest in Christian Apocrypha is evident by the appearance of editions in languages other than English. A Russian translation of Christian Apocrypha was carried out by I. Svencickaja and M. Trofimova (eds.), *Apokriify drevnikh khristian*, Institut d'athéisme scientifique, Moscow, 1989. Once again in The Netherlands, in Dutch, L. van Kampen (ed.), *Apostelverhalen. Doel en compositie van de oudste apokriefe handelingen der apostelen* [Histories of the Apostles. Intention and Composition of the most ancient Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles], Utrecht, 1990. In Poland two scholars have successfully taken the initiative, E. Nowak and M. Starowieyski, *Dwunastu* [Les Douze: traduction polonaise du Ps-Abdias], Cracovie, 1995. In Spain the Instituto Diocesano de Filología Clásica y Oriental, within the Fundación San Justino, (Madrid), has brought to light in several initial volumes in Spanish the following studies: J. González Núñez (ed.), *La leyenda del rey Abgar y Jesús. Orígenes del cristianismo en Edesa*, (Apócrifos Cristianos, 1), Madrid 1995 and G. Aranda Pérez (ed.), *Dormición de la Virgen. Relatos de la tradición copta*, (Apócrifos Cristianos, 2), Madrid, 1995.

In the 'Colloquium', already mentioned above, the publication of apocryphal texts titled *Textes en Poche* directed by A. Desreumaux and E. Norelli, under the auspices of AELAC and Brepols was announced. These target a non academic audience with the intention to disseminate them to the general public. The following volumes are currently available: A. Desreumaux (ed. et al.), *Histoire du roi Abgar et de Jésus*, 1993; E. Norelli (ed.), *Ascension du prophète Isaïe*, 1993; J.-D. Kaestli and P. Cherix (eds.), *L'évangile de Barthélemy d'après deux écrits apocryphes*, 1993; M.-J. Pierre and J.-M. Martin (eds.), *Les Odes de Salomon*, 1994; J.-N. Pères (ed.), *L'Épître des apôtres, accompagnée du Testament de Notre*

Seigneur et Notre Sauveur Jésus-Christ, 1994; R. Faerber (ed.), *Salomon et Saturne—Quatre dialogues en vieil-anglais*, 1995; J.-M. Prieur (ed.), *Actes de l'apôtre André*, 1995. Similar to the scholarly critical editions in the *Serie Apocryphorum* there are more editions of this 'popular series' in preparation.

Research of Christian Apocrypha has not escaped the interpretations of feminist scholars who in the main have focused on the 'Acta' genre. Two scholars from the United States, Virginia Burrus (Drew University, New Jersey) and Dennis MacDonald (Iliff School of Theology, Denver, Colorado) attempted to establish the alleged feminine authorship of several of the apocryphal 'Acta' of the Apostles.² For reasons of space I can not here set forth in full the critique that has been directed at the alleged feminine authorship. I do want to mention two essays meticulously argued that convincingly counter the alleged female authorship of the 'Acta' as set forth by Burrus and MacDonald. Notably are those by: J.-D. Kaestli, "Fiction littéraire et réalité-sociale: que peut-on voir de la place des femmes dans le milieu de production des Actes apocryphes des Apôtres?" *Apocrypha* 4 (1990) 279–302 and P. W. Dunn, "Women's liberation, the *Acts of Paul* and other apocryphal Acts of the Apostles. A review of some recent interpretations." *Apocrypha* 4 (1993) 245–261. In the end, both articles point out the anachronistic methodology—modern feminist ideology—that in their view Burrus and MacDonald have read into the texts.

A significant venue for the diffusion of modern studies on apocrypha without a doubt will be future issues of the journal *Apocrypha* for this burgeoning field of study. The contributions of this publication can be readily appreciated if one consults the studies that have up to now been published in the current eight volumes of the journal. Similarly, the content of the articles reflect the numerous research avenues that await further exploration. I would like to cite here a few as examples of the variety of 'apocryphal fields' of study, current and future.

One of the most promising areas of study that has scarcely been touched by modern scholars is the wide diffusion of Christian

² V. Burrus, *Chastity as Autonomy: Women in the stories of the Apocryphal Acts*, Masters Thesis, Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, 1984 and in *Semeia* 38 (1986) 101–117. Dennis MacDonald, *The Legend and the Apostle. The Battle for Paul in Story and Canon*, Philadelphia, 1983.

Apocrypha from the third century to the end of the Middle Ages. For example, articles by Bovon, Outtier, and Dinzelbacker demonstrate the imprints of Christian Apocrypha in Origen, pseudo-Chrysostom and in the widely influential *Visio Pauli*.³ Moreover, Faerber in two studies has confirmed the influence of Christian Apocrypha on Anglo-Saxon sources.⁴ Gounelle explores the etymology and meaning of *apocryphus* in the *Golden Legend*, a text that in the late medieval centuries popularized like no other source apocryphal legends, while Paupert notes the presence of Christian Apocrypha in western monastic writings.⁵ Lastly, the significant and tantalizing monograph of Dennis MacDonald, *Christianizing Homer: 'The Odyssey', Plato and 'The Acts of Andrew'*, Oxford, 1994, analyzes the classical roots of this apocryphal text wherein he deftly demonstrates the fascinating synthesis of a classical text and Christian Apocrypha. It is also a tribute to the genius of these anonymous authors of Christian Apocrypha.

We must also draw attention to the fact that one of the most well known personages in this literature and who always appears along with St. Peter the Apostle is Simon Magus. This stereotyped heretic was converted at the hands of the Church Fathers into a perpetual anti-apostle/magician who was immensely popular as is confirmed by his presence in literature and art spanning the entire patristic—medieval eras and well beyond. In a recent article of mine, that contains an abundant bibliography, I have set forth the disparate traditions regarding Simon Magus.⁶

It is of equal importance to bring to our attention the vast research possibilities that lies before us in regard to the art. Christian Apocrypha found a prominent place in the artistic expression of the Church, especially the Middle Ages, that among other things reveal a creative

³ F. Bovon, "Une nouvelle citation des *Actes de Paul* chez Origène," *Apocrypha* 5 (1994) 113–117. B. Outtier, "Deux homélies pseudo-chrysostomiennes pour la fête mariale du 15 août," *Apocrypha* 6 (1995) 165–178 and P. Dinzelbacker, "La 'Visio Pauli': circulation et influence d'un apocryphe eschatologique," *Apocrypha* 2 (1991) 165–180.

⁴ R. Faerber, "L'apocalypse de Thomas en vieil anglais," *Apocrypha* 4 (1993) 125–139 and "Deux homélies de Pâques en anglais ancien," *Apocrypha* 6 (1995) 93–126.

⁵ R. Gounelle, "Sens et usage d'*apocryphus* dans la *Légende dorée*," *Apocrypha* 5 (1994) 189–210 and C. Paupert, "Présence des apocryphes dans la littérature monastique occidentale ancienne," *Apocrypha* 4 (1993) 113–123.

⁶ A. Ferreiro, "Simon Magus: The patristic-medieval traditions and historiography," *Apocrypha* 7 (1996) 147–165.

imagination. The valuable studies of Hudry, Paupert, and Thierry are suggestive of the fruitful avenues for future inquiry on the part of historians of art and cognate specialists who are interested in the convergence of apocryphal texts and artistic images of the same.⁷

A major portion of the research has been directed and carried out by members of AELAC who geographically, above all, have been oriented towards North of the Pyrenees and historically mainly in the patristic period. There is no question that in the Iberian Peninsula there exist hundreds of examples of Christian Apocrypha in literary texts and in art from all historical periods. Fortunately, at the opportune moment a Spanish representation has been established in the AELAC by the researcher Jacinto González Núñez and others of the 'Instituto Diocesano de Filología Clásica y Oriental' of the San Justino Foundation, Madrid. In a recent issue of the *Bulletin* of AELAC there was announced the ambitious initiative of translating into Spanish apocryphal texts, some of which have been cited above, coupled with future publication and diffusion that will hopefully encourage greater interest in Christian Apocrypha in the Iberian Peninsula. Can anyone doubt that within the hundreds of historic monuments—such as cathedrals, churches, and the like, including literary texts and art in the Iberian Peninsula—one will find scores of examples inspired by Christian Apocrypha in need of scholarly attention? I offer as one example a wood relief from the eighteenth century in the Cathedral of Oviedo, Asturias—previously not studied that I have now researched—dedicated to the apostle Peter. The themes in this relief are based exclusively on apocryphal legends drawn from the *Acts of Peter* and the *Passion of the Apostles Peter and Paul*. A further opportunity emerges in the Iberian context: in view of the Portuguese and Spanish expansion in the Age of Discovery to the Americas, Asia, and Africa, one has to wonder how many religious monuments in these lands have images inspired by Christian Apocrypha? We must not forget also the voluminous religious texts, specifically sermons and theological tracts and books that were produced in those

⁷ M. Hudry, "Les apocryphes dans l'iconographie des églises et chapelles savoyardes," *Apocrypha* 2 (1991) 249–259, C. Paupert, "Thèmes apocryphes de l'iconographie des églises de Tarentaise et de Maurienne (Savoie)," *Apocrypha* 5 (1994) 249–268, and N. Thierry, "L'illustration des apocryphes dans les églises de Cappadoce," *Apocrypha* 2 (1991) 217–247.

distant continents. It would be a most worthy endeavor for researchers to dedicate some effort to search, identify, and study the presence of Christian Apocrypha in the Iberian Peninsula, the Americas, Asia, and Africa. Lastly, back in Europe those areas that have received either scant or no attention at all, such as Eastern Europe, is also a promising prospect.

CHAPTER THREE

TYPOLOGICAL PORTRAITS OF SIMON MAGUS IN ANTI-GNOSTIC SOURCES*

Scholars of early Christianity acknowledge that already, in what is known as the eyewitness period—30 to 90—of the New Testament era, there were nascent theological ideas that would later blossom into the various Gnostic sects and Catholic orthodoxy.¹ Even though organized sects, no matter how loosely defined, were in the ascendancy between 90 to the time of Justin and Irenaeus, we do not have much by way of direct sources. The Nag Hammadi texts may reveal much Gnostic theology, but they reveal little in terms of the actual organization and cohesiveness of these sects. We do know, however, that by the time Irenaeus and his generation were writing against Gnostics there did exist well defined ideas and groups to whom they responded. The most pressing challenge for these early Christian writers was two-fold. One, to identify and articulate precisely what constituted genuine apostolic teaching, a process that fostered the corollary identification of a New Testament canon. Second, to demonstrate the erroneous origins of Gnostic groups in contradistinction to the legitimate apostolic succession of Catholic bishops. The Church Fathers consistently point us in their writings to the person allegedly responsible for originating the Gnostic heresies, Simon Magus. Some scholars argue that Simon Magus was indeed a Gnostic and hence the Simonian sect, a latter development of Gnostic teachings, was already present in New Testament times. Others in the scholarly community deny that Simon Magus was a Gnostic, including the Simonians of the second century.²

* I extend my gratitude to Professor Jeffrey B. Russell for his suggestions and critique of this study. The conclusions are mine, however. I also thank *Seattle Pacific University* for a sabbatical leave to work on this and other related studies.

¹ Some even see Jewish roots in the movement that would develop into Simonianism. See, H. J. Schoeps, "Simon Magus in der Haggada", *Hebrew Union College Annual* 21 (1948), 257–274; A. F. Rainey, "Gath-Padalla", *Israel Exploration Journal* 18 (1968), 1–14, and G. Quispel "From Mythos to Logos", *Eranos* 39 (1970), 323–340.

² For general surveys and technical monographs see, (ed.) F. J. F. Jackson and

I do not propose to embark upon a quest for the historical Simon Magus to establish once and for all the alleged links between the Simon Magus of the New Testament and the one written about by the Church Fathers from the second century onward. I concur with Wayne A Meeks, only on the Simon question when he states that, "The quest for the historical Simon (and Helena!) is even less promising than the quest for the historical Jesus".³ I am intent on pursuing what it was the Church Fathers believed about Simon Magus regarding his own origins, his apostasy from apostolic teaching, his alleged teachings and character traits that marked him as founder of Gnosticism, his ultimate demise at the hands of Simon Peter, and the memory of Simon Magus in later writers such as Jerome and Vincent of Lérins. A parallel question is the convergence of Simon Magus traditions as found in the New Testament and the Apocryphal New Testament that the Fathers integrated into their own image of this central heretic. What these Church Fathers finally created, in terms of the image of Simon Magus, not only answered for their

K. Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity. Part I. The Acts of the Apostles*, New York 1939, pp. 151–163 is still a useful survey. É. Amann, "Simon le Magicien", *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, 14 (1939), 2130–2140 with a thorough compendium of the patristic sources. These 'state of the question' studies are noteworthy, K. Beyschlag, "Zur Simon-Magus Frage", *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 68 (1971), 395–426; K. Rudolph, "Simon Magus oder Gnosticus?" *Theologische Rundschau* 42 (1977), 279–359, and E. M. Yamauchi, *Pre-Christian Gnosticism, A Survey of the Proposed Evidences*, Grand Rapids 1983, 2nd ed. pp. 201–203. Major monographs are by L. Cerfaux, *Recueil Lucien Cerfaux*, vol. 1, Gembloux 1954; H. Jonas, *The Gnostic Religion*, Boston 1963, pp. 103–111; J. M. A. Salles-Dabadie, *Recherches sur Simon le Mage I. L'Apophasis Megalé*, Cahiers de la Revue Biblique 10, Paris 1969. J. Frickel, *Die 'Apophasis Megalé' in Hippolyt's Refutatio (VI 9–18): Eine paraphrase zur Apophasis Simons*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 182, Roma 1968. K. Beyschlag, *Simon Magus und die christliche Gnosis*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 16, Tübingen 1974. G. Lüdemann, *Untersuchungen zur simonianschen Gnosis*, Göttingen 1975 and K. Rudolph, *Gnosis, The Nature and History of Gnosticism*, (trans. and ed.) R. McL. Wilson, San Francisco 1983. Those who argue that Simon Magus was a fully fledged Gnostic are, E. Haenchen, "Gab es eine vorchristliche Gnosis?" *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 49 (1952), 316–349; G. Lüdemann, "The Acts of the Apostles and the beginnings of Simonian Gnosis", *New Testament Studies* 33 (1987), 420–426. Lüdemann seems to have modified his views in his, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 26–29. K. Rudolph, *Gnosis*, p. 297. L. Cerfaux's views lie between complete denial and affirmation of Gnostic Simonianism, *Recueil*, pp. 256–262, and in fact he argues it was mostly a form of paganism. Those who deny Gnostic origins of Simon Magus and the Simonians are, L. Cerfaux, *Recueil*, p. 256; Beyschlag, "Zur Simon-Magus Frage", p. 415 and *Ibid.*, *Simon Magus*, pp. 39–40, 90, and 106–120 and Lüdemann, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 26–29, 37, 41, and 81.

³ "Simon Magus in Recent Research", *Religious Studies Review* 3, 3 (1977), 137–142, at 141.

generation the fundamental question about the provenance of Gnostics, they provided to posterity a typological portrait of the quintessential heretic who could be invoked to condemn all forms of heresy and moral aberration, real or imagined, in early Christianity and the Middle Ages.⁴

Origins of Simon Magus

Justin Martyr's *Apologia* is the first source we have about Simon Magus dating from the post-New Testament era and is the narrative upon which all subsequent Church Fathers, known or anonymous, built upon. Justin Martyr was the first to mention a woman Helena, who would be described in the later sources as a formidable co-partner, as being the key follower of Simon Magus.⁵ He also identified the place name Gitta as the city in Samaria from where Simon Magus originated.⁶ The Samaritan origins have been explored extensively,

⁴ A. de Halleux shows how Simon Magus was associated through typology with the Nestorians, "Die Genealogie des Nestorianismus nach der frühmonophysitischen Theologie", *Oriens Christianus* (1982), 1-14. Marcion connections are noted in F. M. Braun, "Marcion et la Gnose Simonienne", *Byzantion* 25-27 (1955-1957), 631-648 and in A. Salles, "Simon le Magicien ou Marcion?", *Vigiliae Christianae* 12 (1958), 197-224. There may have existed some connections with the second century Ququites, but Drijvers suggests further work is needed, "Quq and the Ququites", *Numen* 14 (1967), 104-129. G. H. R. Horsely, sees no evidence of influences between Simon Magus and the "The Great Power of God", in *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, Macquarie University 1983, pp. 31-32. Etel M. Stefana Drower has detected Mandaean influences on the Simonians, "Die Täufer und der verborgene Adam", in: G. Widengren (ed.), *Der Mandäismus. Wege der Forschung* 167, Darmstadt 1982, pp. 196-205. For typological links and legends in the Middle Ages see A. Ferreiro, "Simon Magus: the Patristic-Medieval Traditions and Historiography", *Apocrypha* 7 (1996), 147-165.

⁵ G. Lüdemann, "The Acts of the Apostles", p. 422 defends the narrative as told by Justin Martyr. J. Fossum, "The Simonian Sophia Myth", *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni L'Aquila* 11 (1987), 184-197 argues there may be a veiled reference to Helena in Acts 8:22 where 'epinoia' is used for 'thought' and is similar to Justin's use of 'ennoia' to identify Helena. Along these lines with weaker evidence, G. Ory, "Le mythe Samaritain d'Hélène", *Cahiers du Cercle Ernest-Renan* 3 (1956), 1-32. See also the detailed discussion in L. Cerfaux, *Recueil*, pp. 259-262. M. Scopello does not doubt the veracity of the Helena stories, "Jewish and Greek Heroines in the Nag Hammadi Library", in: K. L. King (ed.), *Images of the Feminine in Gnosticism*. Minneapolis 1988, pp. 71-90 at 89-90 with a response by D. M. Parrott, pp. 91-95.

⁶ A. F. Rainey suggests that Gitta, cited by Justin, may be the New Testament "city of Samaria" 'Sebaste', in "Gath-Padalla", pp. 13-14. Lüdemann reminds us

and it has been established that Samaria was the site of several Gnostic and non-Gnostic sects. It is within this milieu that Simon Magus flourished and later the Simonians.⁷ We should not lose sight of the fact that Justin Martyr was from Samaria, his information, however brief, bears the impression of first hand testimony.⁸

Irenaeus of Lyons in *Adversus haereses* opened with a retelling of the account in the Acts of the Apostles encounter between Simon Magus and Simon Peter.⁹ This material is the critical source Irenaeus needed

that Justin was himself from Samaria and therefore there is good reason to believe his information, "The Acts of the Apostles", p. 422. Rudolph is also favorable towards Justin, *Gnosis*, pp. 294–298. See also R. M. Grant, "The Earliest Christian Gnosticism", *Church History* 22 (1953), 81–97.

⁷ Numerous studies have enhanced our understanding of Samaria's place and role in the emergence of early Christianity. See, G. Ory, "Simon (dit le magicien) Dieu sauveur des Samaritains", *Cahiers du Cercle Ernest-Renan* 2 (1955), 1–16 and especially Quispel, "From Mythos to Logos", p. 330 who singles out the Samaritan Messianic expectations in the context of Simon Magus. W. C. van Unnik, demonstrated that most Gnostic sects seem to have come from Samaria, that is, if we are to believe that subsequent Gnostic founders were disciples of Simon Magus, *Newly Discovered Gnostic Writings*, Studies in Biblical Theology 30, London 1960, p. 23. Similarly, J. Fossum, "The Origin of the Gnostic Concept of the Demiurge", *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 61 (1985), 142–152.

⁸ "Contempsi etiam impiam illam apud meos Samaritanos et erroris plenam Simonis doctrinam", PG 6:467. *Apologia*, II, 15. In support are, Lüdemann, "Acts of the Apostles", p. 422 and Rudolph, *Gnosis*, p. 294.

⁹ Studies on Irenaeus' *Adversus haereses* I. 23.24 are by H. Schlier, "Das Denken der Frühchristlichen Gnosis (Irenaus *Adv. Haer.* I 23.24)", in *Neutestamentliche Studien für Rudolf Bultmann*, vol. 2, Berlin 1957, pp. 67–82. Ysabel de Andia identifies a double succession: the one established by Simon Peter the other by Simon Magus and the archetypal roles of Simon Magus and Helena in that work, "L'hérésie et sa réfutation selon Irénée de Lyon", *Augustinianum* 25 (1985), 609–644. The same was echoed by Quispel, "Simon en Helena", *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 5 (1951), 339–345, and more thoroughly by A. Ferreira in, "Jerome's polemic against Priscillian in his *Letter to Ctesiphon* (133.4)", *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 39.2 (1993), 309–332. Some scholars have expressed serious reservations in accepting Irenaeus' teaching that Simon Magus founded Gnosticism including the subsequent testimony of the Church Fathers on that point. F. Wisse sees no connection between Simon Magus and the Simonians, "The Nag Hammadi Library and the Heresiologists", *Vigiliae Christianae* 25 (1971), 205–223. K. Beyschlag moves in the same direction, *Simon Magus und die Christliche Gnosis* p. 90 as does Lüdemann. *Untersuchungen*, p. 37. S. Aria doubts the patristic testimony in, "Simonianische Gnosis und die Exegese Über die Seele", in: M. Krause (ed.), *Gnosis and Gnosticism*. Nag Hammadi Studies 8, Leiden 1977, pp. 185–203 and "Zur Simonianischen in *Authlog* und *Bronté*", in: M. Krause (ed.), *Gnosis and Gnosticism*. Nag Hammadi Studies 17, Leiden 1981, pp. 3–15 and H. M. Schenke, "Die Relevanz der Kirchenväter für die Erschließung der Nag-Hammadi Texte", in: J. Irmscher – K. Treu (eds.), *Das Korpus der Griechischen Christlichen Literatur Schriftsteller*. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen 120, Berlin 1977, p. 215. I am using for this study, Irénée de Lyon, *Contre les Hérésies*. Livre I. Tome II. (ed.) A. Rousseau et L. Doutreleau SC 264, Paris 1979, I 23. pp. 313–321, also PG 7:669–674.

to establish a historical link between the New Testament Simon Magus and the Simonians of his own time. In other words, Irenaeus believed that the Simonian doctrines and morality reflected those of their founder Simon Magus as found in the Acts of the Apostles (8:9–25). Irenaeus, then, began to introduce biographical details wholly absent in the New Testament, but clearly inspired by Justin Martyr. Simon Magus allegedly recruited a former prostitute named Helena, and together they encouraged their followers to worship them as Zeus and Athena.¹⁰ Similar to Luke's Acts of the Apostles, Irenaeus highlighted the magical arts associated with Simon Magus. Absent, however, is any reference to the apocryphal legends emerging contemporaneous with Irenaeus. In sum, the account of Irenaeus is brief in sharp contrast to that of others who will have more to say about Simon Magus and the Simonians. Even so, Irenaeus' version in *Adversus haereses* had a profound impact on those who sought to further explain the rise and fall of Simon Magus and his followers.

The *Pseudo-Clementine Homilies* and *Recognitions* attributed to Clement of Rome and the anonymous *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles* contain what easily qualifies as the most extensive treatment of Simon Magus, especially regarding his alleged teachings abiding in the Simonians.¹¹

¹⁰ Considerable advances have been made in regard to Helena both within the context of Simon Magus and in the broader context of religious cults in Samaria (see note 5 above). L. H. Vincent signaled the connections between a cult of Helena and the cult of Kore in Samaria, "Le culte d'hélène a Samarie", *Revue Biblique* 45 (1936), 221–232, ill. Since then two significant studies have strengthened the earlier work of Vincent. D. Flusser demonstrated the similarities of Sun Moon beliefs in Samaritan cults and the figures of Simon Magus-Helena. Through the study of an inscription from Samaria (Pl. 2: A) in the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem, he sees the interconnectedness of the Helios-Kore-Helena cults, "The Great Goddess of Samaria", *Israel Exploration Journal* 25 (1975), 13–20. Recent evidence is brought to light by G. H. R. Horsely, "The Great Goddess of Samaria", in *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*. Macquarie University 1981, pp. 105–107. See also Quispel, "Simon en Helena", pp. 339–345 and "From Mythos to Logos", pp. 323–340. G. Ory claimed veiled references to her in the New Testament that are not convincing, "Le mythe Samaritain d' Hélène", pp. 1–32. Still useful on Helena is the seminal study by L. Cerfaux, *Recueil*, pp. 259–262, that also appeared in *Religious Studies Review* 25 (1931), 615–617. "Imaginem quoque Simonis habent factam ad figuram Iouis, et Helenae in figuram Mineruae, et has adorant", *Adversus Haereses*, I. 23.4. 86–87, pp. 318–319.

¹¹ L. Cerfaux long ago dismissed the Pseudo-Clementines as entirely worthless for our understanding of Simon Magus and Simonianism, *Recueil*, p. 248 and note 1. R. Harris advances Greek literary influences in, "Notes on the Clementine Romances", *Journal of Biblical Literature* 40 (1921), 125–145. B. Rehm offered extensive textual commentary "Zur Entstehung der pseudoclementinischen Schriften", *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 37 (1938), 77–184. J. Rius-Camps in a little known study unravels the complex philological aspects of these

In these texts we discover a magician named Dositheus, who allegedly mentored Simon Magus in the magical arts, but was never mentioned by Justin and Irenaeus. As Simon Magus began to grow in power and influence, he plotted to discredit and overthrow Dositheus.¹²

works, "Las Pseudoclementinas: Bases Filológicas para una nueva interpretación", *Revista Catalana de Teologia* 1 (1976), 79–158 wherein he doubts the existence of a "Kerygmata Petrou", contrary to A. Salles, "La diatribe anti-paulinienne dans le Le Roman Pseudo-Clémentin et l'origine des 'Kérygmes de Pierre'", *Revue Biblique* 64 (1957), 516–551. The overall structure of the Pseudo-Clementines has been revisited by J. Wehnert, "Literarkritik und Sprachanalyse Kritische Anmerkungen zum gegenwärtigen Stand der Pseudoklementinen Forschung", *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 74 (1983), 268–301. H. Jonas maintained that the disputations between Simon Magus and Simon Peter did not very likely take place, but rather by their followers, *The Gnostic Religion*, pp. 109–110. A. Salles proposes influences of Marcionism and Simonianism in the Pseudo-Clementines, "Simon le Magicien ou Marcion?" pp. 197–224. V. K. P. Rigby, believes there are elements of the *Acts of Peter* therein, "Simon Magus: History versus Tradition", in: C. W. Griggs (ed.), *Apocryphal writings and the Latter Day Saints*. Religious Studies Monographs Series 13. Salt Lake City 1986, pp. 241–253. F. Stanley Jones accomplished an extensive and useful historiographical essay titled "The Pseudo-Clementines: A History of Research. Part I and II", *Second Century* 2 (1982), 1–33 and 63–96. For the homilies see: B. Rehm (ed.), *Die Pseudoklementinen I. Homilien*. GCS 1, Berlin 1953, [hereafter *Hom.*] For a translation in English of the *Clementine Homilies* and *Recognitiones* see, A. Roberts and J. Donaldson (ed.), *Ante-Nicene Fathers* 8, Grand Rapids 1978. Also useful for the *Recognitiones* 'Pseudo-Clementines': B. Rehm (ed.), *Die Pseudo Klementinen II. Rekognitionen in Rufins übersetzung*. GCS 51, Berlin 1965, [hereafter *Recog.*].

¹² Researchers have not had much agreement as to the nature of the doctrines as taught by Dositheus and the alleged connections, direct or indirect, with Simon Magus and Simonians. K. Rudolph notes that *Acts of Peter* and the *Pseudo-Clementines* are at the final stage of the early Simon Magus traditions, *Gnosis*, p. 296. I would add that it is actually the *Passio Sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli* [hereafter *Passio*] that marks the end of this early process. R. McL. Wilson is skeptical of the alleged Dosithean connection. He also notes how scholars have not successfully bridged the Simon Magus of Acts of the Apostles and the one the Church Fathers commented upon "Simon and Gnostic Origins": J. Kremer (ed.), *Les Actes des Apôtres*. Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 48, Leuven 1979, pp. 485–491. For alleged connections see: J. W. Drane, "Simon the Samaritan and the Lucan Concept of Salvation History", *The Evangelical Quarterly* 47 (1975), 131–137, where he proposes that Luke was aware Simon Magus was the originator of Gnosticism. This position has not received any support. A more substantive study is R. Bergmeier, "Die Gestalt des Simon Magus, in Act 8 und in der Simonianischen Gnosis-Aporien einer Gesamteurung", *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 77 (1986), 267–275. Additionally for Cerfaux and McL. Wilson, who argue that Dositheus was not a Gnostic weakens even further such alleged links with Simon Magus and likewise the testimony of the Church Fathers. Cerfaux, *Recueil*, pp. 191–257 considered Dositheus a Samaritan heretic and Simon Magus a pagan; thus paralleling the emerging Gnostic movement and McL. Wilson, "Simon, Dositheus, and the Dead Sea Scrolls", *Zeitschrift für Religions und Geistesgeschichte* 9 (1957), 21–30, p. 256. "interfecto etenim, sicut scis ipse, baptista Iohanne, cum Dositheus haereseos suae inisset exordium cum aliis triginta principalibus discipulis

Eventually, Simon Magus convinced him of his greater authority, and the latter submitted in adoration. A short time later Dositheus died, but there is no hint in the story of any suspect circumstances. At this precise moment, the woman Luna, or Helena, crossed paths with Simon Magus and became his partner in deception.¹³ The *Constitutions* related the rise of Dositheus. A third person Cleobius was introduced within this inner circle. Cleobius, as scholars have noted, was a false teacher who also appears in the apocryphal *Acts of Paul*.¹⁴ The *Constitutions* called the Simonians the "most impious" first heresy at Rome. Tertullian also recalled Dositheus, whom he intimated closely with the Sadducees and Pharisees as a deviant member of Judaism. Tertullian in three places, spoke of the censure of Simon Magus by Peter in the Acts of the Apostles.¹⁵ The placement

et una muliere quae Luna vocitata est (unde et illi triginta quasi secundum lunae cursum in numero dierum positi videbantur), Simon hic malae, ut diximus, gloriae cupidus accedit ad Dositheum et simulatis amicitiiis exorat, ut si quando aliquis ex illis triginta obisset, in locum difuncti se continuo subrogaret", *Recog.* II. 8.9-16, p. 55 and in *Hom.* II. 24, p. 45.

¹³ For the title or name Luna and Helena see, Flusser, "The Great Goddess of Samaria", p. 19 and its affinity with Samaritan cults. "Interim initio cum adhuc inter triginta Dosithei discipulos haberetur, coepit ipsi Dositheo derogare, tamquam qui non integre nec perfecte doceret, idque eum non invidia facere sed inscientia. verum Dositheus ubi sibi derogari sensit a Simone, verens ne opinio sua obscuraretur apud homines, qui eum putabant ipsum esse Stantem, furore commotus, cum ad scholam solito convenissent, virga correpta verberare Simonem coepit, et repente per corpus eius quasi per fumum visa est virga transire; super quo obstupefactus Dositheus, ait ad eum: Dic mihi, si tu es Stans, ut adorem te. cumque Simon respondisset, Ego sum, Dositheus videns se non esse Stantem, cecidit et adovarit eum et Simone quidem cedit principatu suo ipsique oboedire omnem triginta virorum ordinem iubet, semetipsum vero in locum Simonis statuit et non multo post defunctus est. igitur post obitum Dosithei Simon accepit Lunam", *Recog.* II. 11.12-23 and line 1, 12.1, pp. 57-58 and *Hom.* II. 24, p. 45.

¹⁴ This enigmatic Cleobius is unknown in the early sources about Simon Magus. See: M. Metzger (ed.), *Les Constitutions Apostoliques*. Tome II. Livres III-VI. SC 329, Paris 1986, 6.8.1 pp. 314-315, and the notes accompanying the text. An edition of the *Constitutions* is also in, PG 1:919-927.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 6.9.6, p. 321. "Taceo enim Iudaismi haereticos, Dositheum inquam Samaritanum, qui primus ausus est prophetas quasi non in Spiritu sancto locutos repudiare, taceo Saducaeos, qui ex huius erroris radice surgentes ausi sunt ad hanc haeresim etiam resurrectionem carnis negare, praetermitto Phariseos", *Adversus omnes haereses*, 1.1.4-8, *Tertulliani Opera*, CCL II, II. Turnholt 1954, p. 140i and for the Acts citation: "ex quibus est primus omnium Simon Magus, qui in Actis Apostolorum condignam meruit ab apostolo Petro iustamque sententiam", 1.1.13-15, *Ibid.* "Nam et Simon Samarites in actis Apostolorum redemptor spiritus sancti, posteaquam damnatus ab apostolo cum pecunia sua interitum frustra fleuit", *De anima*, 34.25-27, *Tertulliani Opera*, CSEL 20. Vindobonae 1890, p. 358. "Et a Petro apostolo in ipso Simone damnabatur", *De praescriptione haereticorum*, 33.32-34, in *Tertulliani Opera*, CSEL 70, Vindobonae 1942, p. 42.

of the Simonians at Rome, rather than at Antioch or Jerusalem, was hardly incidental in view of the rapidly emerging belief that Rome was the See founded by Peter and Paul and consecrated by their martyrdom. Put another way, Rome was increasingly identified as the birthplace of the legitimate succession of the apostles through Peter and Paul, and Simon Magus was perceived as attempting to establish a false succession there.

Hippolytus and Origen, although in agreement with other accounts on most points, stood in sharp contrast to other accounts on Simon Magus' origins.¹⁶ Hippolytus more so than Origen referred to the encounter in Acts, which by now appeared in the sources almost in formulaic fashion. Again, for all of these writers, Acts was an essential bridge connecting Simon Magus with the Simonians flourishing in their own era, over one hundred years later. Hippolytus and Origen departed dramatically from Irenaeus and Clement of Alexandria in several significant ways. They actually revealed the name of the sorcerer who mentored Simon Magus, Thrasymedes.¹⁷ Furthermore, readers were introduced to a Libyan magician Apsethus who was compared to Simon Magus. Apsethus conceived of a deceptive way of drawing worship as a god to himself. He trained a flock of parrots to speak of him as a god and sent them forth to spread the message declaring, "Apsethus is a god".¹⁸ The Greeks, however, being such rational people, did not fall prey to such simplistic methods and decided to foil Apsethus. They in turn retrained the parrots to proclaim Apsethus a fraud and not a "god" at all. When the disciples of Apsethus in Libya realized the deception they seized him and

¹⁶ Fundamental monographs are J. Frickel, *Die 'Apophasis Megale' in Hippolyt's Refutatio (VI 9-18): Eine paraphrase und Apophasis Simons* and J. M. A. Salles-Dabadie, *Recherches sur Simon le Mage 1. L' 'Apophasis Megale'*. For textual corrections see J. Frickel, "Eine neue kritische Textausgabe der 'Apophasis Megale,' (Hippolyt. Ref. 6,9 -18)?" *Wiener Studien* 85 (1972), 162-184 and B. Aland, "Die Apophasis Megale und die simonianische Gnosis. Bemerkungen zu J. Frickel, 'Die 'Apophasis Megale' in Hippolyt's Refutatio (V 9-18) Eine paraphrase zur Apophasis Simons", *Theologie und Philosophie* 48 (1973), 410-416 and *Ibid.*, "Gnosis und Philosophie", in *Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Gnosticism. Stockholm 20-25 August 1973*, Leiden, 34-73, pp. 65-73. An overview of Hippolytus' notion of heresy is in, E. Prinzivalli, "Eresia ed eretici nel corpus Ippolitiano", *Augustinianum* 25 (1985), 711-722. Hippolytus, *Refutatio Omnium haeresum*, VI (ed.) P. Wendland 3 vols. GCS 3, Leipzig 1916, pp. 134-141. Origen, *Refutationes Omnium haeresum VI*, PG 16, 3:3205-3228 and *Contra Celsum*, V. PG 11:1279-1282.

¹⁷ Hippolytus, *Haer.* VI, 7, p. 135 and Origen, *Haer.* VI, 7, PG 16, 3:3205-3206.

¹⁸ Hippolytus, *Haer.* VI, 8, p. 135 and Origen, *Haer.* VI, 8, PG 16, 3:3207-3208.

burned him alive.¹⁹ Hippolytus and Origen encouraged their readers to look upon Simon Magus as a "silly" magician of no substance.²⁰ In these accounts Simon Magus was tutored by and resembled two prominent sorcerers, Thrasymedes and Apsethus the Libyan. Although set aside by later Church Fathers it established the dubious origins of Simon Magus and of his sorcery in the emerging "type".

Gnostic Succession

The persistent attempt by the Church Fathers, especially Irenaeus and Clement, to establish the legitimacy of an apostolic succession was matched by their effort to demonstrate the existence of a parallel pseudo-apostolic succession among the Gnostics. Irenaeus was principally driven in his rigorous rebuke of Gnostics to argue that Simon Magus founded the sect from whom all other Gnostics derived their inspiration.²¹ He claimed that the Simonians of his day, founded by Simon Magus, in turn inspired the sect of Menander. In fact, Irenaeus precisely labeled Menander a "successor" of Simon Magus.²² In this significant work of heresiology, which became the model for all future works in this genre, Irenaeus made a case for the legitimate succession of bishops from the apostles, in particular Simon Peter. Noteworthy, too, in the *Adversus haereses* was the emergence of the woman Helena, whom he called a prostitute, as Simon Magus' faithful companion. Helena would come to represent the quintessential heretical woman that all future women emulated who associated themselves with male heretics.²³ No such woman was ever associated with Simon Magus

¹⁹ Hippolytus, *Haer.* VI, 8, p. 135 and Origen, *Haer.* VI, 8, PG 16, 3:3207-3208.

²⁰ Hippolytus, *Haer.* VI, 9, p. 136 and Origen, *Haer.* VI, 9, PG 16, 3:3207-3208.

²¹ By the second century two traditions about Simon Magus are evident, the one as 'Father' of Gnostic sects, the other as a magician, McL. Wilson, "Simon and Gnostic Origins", p. 487. "Simon autem Samaritanus, ex quo uniuersae haereses substituerunt, habet huiusmodi sectae materiam", *Adversus Haereses*. I. 23.2.34-35, pp. 314-315.

²² Whereas many scholars have expressed serious reservations on the alleged Gnostic successors of Simon Magus, Foerster is not ready to dismiss the idea altogether, "Simon and Menander", in: R. McL. Wilson (trans. and ed.), *Gnosis: A selection of Gnostic texts*. I. Patristic evidence. Oxford 1972, pp. 27-33. "Huius successor fuit Menander, Samarites genere, qui et ipse ad summum magiae peruenit", *Adversus Haereses*, I, 23.5.4-5, pp. 320-321.

²³ "Hic Helenam quandam ipse a Tyro ciuitate Phoenicae quaestuariam cum

in the Acts of the Apostles. The *Recognitiones* and *Pseudo-Clementine Homilies*, referred to the rise of Helena—called Luna—but neither work specified directly that Simon Magus inspired any sect other than his own.²⁴ Two major elements of the Simon Magus type were bequeathed by Irenaeus and Clement: the belief that Simon Magus inspired/founded the Gnostic sects and that he had a female collaborator named Helena. The Church Fathers who occupied themselves with the question of the origin of heresy adopted wholesale this tradition while introducing their own emendations here and there.

Hippolytus and Origen taught that Simon Magus spiritually engendered the sect of the Valentinians; Helena was called a “miserable woman” for her part in deceiving the masses through magic and exotic false teachings.²⁵ The *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles* called only the Simonians as the first heresy at Rome without specifically naming any Gnostic sect as their successor. The *Constitutions* implied a succession by noting that the Devil continued to agitate through other false prophets, no doubt a reference to Gnostics.²⁶ Even though Simon Magus was dead he continued to “live on” through his followers—Simonians and other sects—who continued to oppose the legitimate successors of the apostles. Furthermore, the *Constitutions* suggested that their followers perpetuated the struggle between Simon Magus and Simon Peter. The *Constitutions* provided a list of Gnostic sects that were said to have originated with Simon Magus. Tertullian connected the Simonians with Menander and Saturnilian. He also commented about Helena at length in *De anima*.²⁷ Finally, the *Constitutions* have nothing to say about Helena. Eusebius of Caesaria acknowledged that Justin Martyr and Irenaeus—Clement likely too—were the sources of his information. It is hardly surprising that he highlighted Menander as Simon’s successor and the collaborative role of Helena.²⁸

redimisset, secum circumducebat”, *Adversus Haereses* I, 23.2.36–37, pp. 314–315. See Ferreiro, “Jerome’s polemic against Priscillian”, pp. 313–316.

²⁴ “Igitur post obitum Dosithei Simon accepit Lunam”. *Recog.* II. 12.1, p. 58. The *Clementine Homilies* call her Helena, *Hom.* II. 25, pp. 45–46.

²⁵ Hippolytus, *Haer.* VI, 19, pp. 145–147 and Origen, *Haer.* VI, 19, PG 16, 3:3223–3224.

²⁶ *Constitutions*, VI. 9. 6. 41–43, pp. 320–321.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, VI. 8.1. 7–9, pp. 316–317 “Post hunc Menander <exitit,> discipulis ipsius, similiter magus, eadem dicens quae Simon ipse”, *Adversus omnes haereses*, 1.3.1–3 in CCL II, II, p. 1401. “Ut Saturninus Menandri Simoniani discipulus induxit”, *De anima*, 23.29–30, CSEL 20, p. 335. For Helena in *De anima*, 34, pp. 358–360.

²⁸ “Haec Justinus. Cui subscribit etiam Irenaeus in primo *Contra haereses* libro, in

The Greek and Latin Fathers of the fourth century and beyond expanded this tradition even more. Cyril of Jerusalem called Simon Magus "inventor of all heresy"—an echo of Irenaeus—and proceeded in generic fashion to mention the Gnostic sects. The implication was all too clear to his readers. Helena received a brief passing mention.²⁹ Gregory Nazianzus warned that many doctrines "sprang from them"—the Gnostics, Simon Magus included, implying a succession.³⁰ Epiphanius of Salamis in *Panarion* represents the culmination of all this earlier teaching among the Greek Fathers of the fourth century. Helena "the whore" was featured in his entry on the rise of Simon Magus, a point that we shall consider more closely below. On the succession question, Epiphanius linked Simon Magus with the Menandrians, Saturnilians, and Basilidians,³¹ with the strong implications that this constituted an on-going succession originating with Simon Magus. John of Damascus expanded the list of Gnostic groups directly linked to Simon Magus, to include the Basilidians. Helena promoted the worship of Simon Magus as Zeus and herself as Athena.³² We gain a better perspective of how this tradition from the second to fourth centuries among the Greek Fathers influenced the Church and its thinking about apostolic succession in light of what Jerome and Vincent of Lérins received, adapted, and perpetuated in the fifth century as is shown below.

quo vitam hominis et impietatem et impurissimam doctrinam exponit", *Historia* II. 13. PG 20:167-168. "Simonis Magi succesor Menander, diabolicae pravitatis alterum telum priore illo nequaquam inferius scmetipse ac mores suos prestitit", III. 26, col. 271.

²⁹ "Ac omnis quidem haeresos inventor Simon Magus fuit, ille, inquam, Simon qui in Actibus apostolorum", *Catechesis* VI. 14, PG 33:561-562.

³⁰ "Venerantur, et Aeones masculo-feminas, filii Simonis magi; quorum surculi, Qui Deitatem componunt ex litteris; Qui Vetus et Nouum Testamentum duobus diis", *De vita Sua*, 1166-1169 PG 37:1109.

³¹ *Panarion haer.* 21.2.3, pp. 239-240 in: K. Holl (ed.), *Epiphanius (Ancoratus und Panarion)* 1-33. Vol. 1. GCS 1, Leipzig 1915. "Basilidiani foeditatis ejusdem socii ad Basiliden orginem referunt, qui cum Saturnilo, Simonianis ac Menandrianis operam dedii", *Anacephalaeosis*, PG 42:855.

³² "Imaginem porro suam, scortique sui, nomine Helenae, sub Jovis ac Minervae specie discipulis adorandam obstruit" (sect. 21), "Menandriani, c Simonis primum schola Menandro quodam duce profecit" (sect. 22) "Saturniliani is Syria Simonianorum obscenitatem amplexi sunt", (sect. 23) and "Basilidiani, ejusdem foeditatis actores, Basilidem magistrum agnoscunt, qui cum Saturnilus, cum Simonianorum ac Menandrianorum auditor fuit", *De haeresibus liber*, 24, PG 94:690-691.

Doctrines of Simon Magus

Although there are consistent themes that emerged regarding Simon Magus' alleged teachings, not all writers highlighted the same doctrines of this "father" of all heresy. For example, Irenaeus in keeping with the prior tradition in Acts of the Apostles emphasized the magic and sorceries of Simon Magus. What made his version distinctive was the prominent angelology that he attributed to the Simonians.³³ Apparently the Simonians venerated them and believed in their powers and interventions. Angels also are present in the apocryphal legends of Simon Magus, in which he claimed to have power to summon angels against the apostles. The *Acta Petri* and *Passio*, however, point out that Simon's angels were not messengers of God, rather demons in disguise.³⁴ Nevertheless, most of the Church Fathers did not attribute a significant angelology to the Simonians.

The *Recognitiones* and *Pseudo-Clementine Homilies* had a great deal to say about the formal education and intellectual abilities of Simon Magus. Simon Magus was described as a vehement orator, well trained in the dialectic arts, syllogisms, Greek literature, and in the magical arts.³⁵ This extraordinary intellectual background, coupled with his alleged demonic powers, made him an especially dangerous teacher. It also explains why he was able to have such a large following, at least until Simon Peter arrived. There is great focus in this work on his magic and feigned miracles. The writer insisted that

³³ Grant points out that Simon's angels are all evil ones, "The earliest Christian Gnosticism", p. 84. For example in *Adversus Haereses*, "Matrem omnium, per quam in initio mente concepti Angelos facere et Archangelos", 23.2.39-40, p. 314 and "Postestates et Angeli et omnem contumeliam ab his passam", 23.2.48-49, pp. 314 and 316, "Cum enim male moderarentur Angeli mundum, quoniam unusquisque eorum concupisceret principatum", 23.3.63-65, p. 316.

³⁴ The *Acts of Peter* [*Acta Petri*] makes the affirmation by implication, see: R.A. Lipsius - M. Bonnet (eds.), *Actus Petri cum Simone*, caps. 31-33, pp. 81-83 in *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*. Hildesheim-New York 1972. The *Passio*, however, is explicit on this detail, "Simon dixit: Iube turrem excelsam fieri ex lignis et trabibus magnis, unde ascendam in illam; et cum in illam ascendero, angeli mei ad me in aera uenient: non enim in terra inter peccatores ad me uenire possunt", 50.4-8, p. 163 and "Simon dixit. Vt scias, imperator, istos fallaces esse, mox ut in caelum ascendero mittam ad te angelos meos et faciam te ad me uenire", 53.8-10, p. 165.

³⁵ "Super haec autem omnia et ipse Simon vehementissimus est orator, in arte dialectica et syllogismorum tendiculis enutritus, quod autem est omnibus gravius, et in arte magica valde exercitatus", *Recog.* II. 5.26-29, p. 53. and *Hom.* II. 22, pp. 43-44.

although Simon Magus was able to perform spectacular miracles—for which twice we are given a list—all were false since they had the Devil as their source.³⁶ Drawing upon the Old Testament, Simon Peter was likened to Moses, Simon Magus to the magicians of Egypt. Peter possessed the true power of God, hence the greater one.³⁷ Simon Magus at one point claimed to have greater power than God. Simon Magus' fraudulent works were set in relief by contrasting his character with that of Peter. On several occasions during the contests between Peter and Simon Magus the *Recognitiones* emphasized the apostle's humility and that of his followers. When Peter was performing miracles, he and his followers showed humility with prayers on bended knee. This was also an obvious affirmation of apostolic authority over and against that of Simon Magus.³⁸ Simon Magus and his disciples were never shown prostrate; they simply walked away in defiance to Peter and to God. In another incident, when Peter prayed for a throng of people seeking forgiveness they are described on their knees. Near the close of the story, as Peter coolly departed, Simon Magus yelled slander at him.³⁹ The people turned to Peter in such numbers that in the end Simon Magus was left alone with only one disciple.⁴⁰ The *Pseudo-Clementine Homilies* reinforced the

³⁶ "Simoni deferatis primatus, qui possum magica arte multa signa et prodigia ostendere, per quae possit vel gloriae vel sectae nostrae ratio constare", *Recog.* II. 9.4–6, p. 56 and also at, *Recog.* III. 47, p. 128. Also, *Hom.* II. 32 and 34, pp. 48–50. *Recog.* III. 60, p. 136, on true and false miracles.

³⁷ Hippolytus, incidentally, accused Simon Magus of distorting the teaching of Moses and Homer, in Prinzivalli, "Eresia ed eretici", pp. 721–722. "Simili ergo modo etiam nunc per me video geri. sicut enim tunc Moyseo hortante regem ut crederet deo, obsistebant magi quasi ostentatione similium signorum et a salute incredulos prohibebant, ita et nunc cum ego exierim docere omnes gentes ut credant vero deo, Simon magus resistit, eadem agens adversum me, quae et illi tunc egerunt adversum Moysen, ut si qui sunt ex gentibus, qui non recto iudicio utuntur, appareant salventur autem qui signorum rectum discrimen habuerint", *Recog.* III. 56.8–15, p. 133 and II. 57, pp. 133–134.

³⁸ Apostolic primacy in the Pseudo-Clementines has been studied by H. Clavier, "La primauté de Pierre d'après les pseudo-clémentines", *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses* 36 (1956), 298–307. "Et cum haec dixisset, egressus est, secuta autem est eum ex omni populo qui cum ipso venerat pars tertia, qui erant quasi mille viri; ceteri vero fixis genibus prostrabant se Petro, super quos ille invocato dei nomine alios daemonia habentes curavit, alios etiam languentes sanavit, et ita laetantem populum dimisit", *Recog.* II. 70.24–29, p. 92, also in III. 50, p. 130. A similar image is in *Hom.* III. 1, p. 57 and *Hom.* XVIII.23, pp. 251–252.

³⁹ *Recog.* III. 73, p. 144.

⁴⁰ "Tunc populus indignatus Simonem atrio eiectionem extra ianuam domus pepulit eumque depulsum unus secutus est solus", *Recog.* III. 49, p. 129.

same themes. Simon Magus was credited for being powerful in magic and driven by ambition, and a list of his powers and miracles were enumerated.⁴¹ He was also alleged to have declared himself the true Christ. Simon Peter emerged as a humble servant showing great compassion for the rich whom he heals out of no personal gain to himself. Time and again, Simon Magus was obsessed with destroying Peter in his relentless pursuit of exalting himself as divine if not supreme god. Simon Peter remained in hot pursuit of Simon Magus until he destroyed him by exposing him as a charlatan.

Hippolytus and Origen played an important role in the proliferation of this image of Simon Magus. We have noted earlier the sorcerers that Hippolytus and Origen said trained Simon Magus. They tell us that Simon Magus' followers made frequent use of magic, incantations, love spells, charms, demons, and idolatry.⁴² The sect of Simonians seems to emerge here looking less like a Gnostic sect and more like a sexually driven cult. Hippolytus and Origen repeated the story about Simon Magus' attempt to duplicate the resurrection of Christ, a feigned miracle that found its way into the *Acta Petri* and *Passio*. Simon Magus had himself buried promising to rise on the third day.⁴³ We appreciate this contrast even more when Hippolytus

⁴¹ *Hom.* II. 32 and 34, pp. 48–50.

⁴² The struggle between Peter and Simon Magus is not presented as one between two magicians. Rather, Peter is the thaumaturge that vanquished the magician with God's power. On this crucial point see, F. García Bazán, "En torno a Hechos 8, 4–24. Milagro y magia entre los gnósticos", *Revista Bíblica* 40 (1978), 27–38 and C. K. Barrett, "Light on the Holy Spirit from Simon Magus (Acts 8, 4–25)", *Les Actes des Apôtres*, 281–295. "Hujus igitur discipuli praestigiis utuntur et incantationibus, philtraque et illecebras et qui dicuntur somnia adducentes daemones immittunt ad irritandos quos volunt. Verum etiam paredros, quos vocant, exercent, imaginemque Simonis habent in Jovis figuram et Helenae effigie Minervae", Origen, *Haer.* VI, 20, PG 16, 3:3225 and Hippolytus, *Haer.* VI, 20, p. 148.

⁴³ Foerster reminds us that Pseudo-Clement called Simon Magus the 'standing one' in sharp contrast to Hippolytus' recorded failed resurrection by Simon Magus, the latter being a rejection of the title 'standing one' which Simon claimed for himself, "Simon and Menander", p. 29. "Et vero ad extremum cum in eo esset ut plane convinceretur propter diuturniorem commorationem, dixit se, si vivus cooperiretur, surrecturum esse tertio die. Denique fossam postquam jussit effodi a discipulis suis jussit se cooperiri. Illi igitur quod jussum erat perfecerunt, ille autem ab fuit ad hunc diem; non enim erat Christus", Origen, *Haer.* VI, 20, PG 16,3:3225 and Hippolytus, *Haer.* VI, 20, p. 148. In the *Passio* we read, "Nero dixit: Vis ergo ut credam quia haec Simon ignorat, quiet mortuum suscitavit et se ipsum decollatum post diem tertium repraesentavit, et quicquid dixit ut faceret, fecit" 25.9–11, p. 141. And "Simon dixit: Credis, bone imperator, qui magus sum, cum mortuus fuerim et resurrexerim?" 31, 5–6, p. 147. See also *Acta Petri* where he feigns to raise the dead, 28, pp. 74–76 and at 25, pp. 72–73.

and Origen report that one of Simon's major doctrines was that he possessed the "Divine Supremacy" or "Power" which is eternal—past, present, and future.⁴⁴ It is worth repeating here that Hippolytus and Origen devoted much space to the story of the fraudulent Libyan Apsethus who along with Simon Magus and his followers were held in contempt. As in the case of Clement's writings, Hippolytus and Origen repeated in excruciating detail the alleged lengthy discourses between Simon Peter and Simon Magus.⁴⁵ In sum, they all reveal the esoteric false provenance of Simon Magus' teachings, which served the sole purpose of deifying their teacher and had nothing to do with offering real salvation to any of his followers.

The *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles* did not add anything new other than to emphasize Simon Magus' magical abilities. His attributes included the power to command demons, fly in the air with their assistance and so on. Tertullian noted the magic, idolatry, and obsession with angels that Simon Magus and his followers practiced.⁴⁶ The allegations of such powers were derived not from the Acts of the Apostles, that only identified him as a magician without any specific visible exercise thereof, but rather the apocryphal *Acta Petri* and *Passio*, which reported all manner of supernatural feats.⁴⁷ As the Simon Magus tradition continued to develop, other character traits regarding sexuality began to be attached to his personality coupled

⁴⁴ This one aspect of Simon's alleged teaching about the 'Apophasis Megale' has been one of the most hotly debated in modern scholarship. Salles-Dabadie argued that 'Apophasis Megale' is a work of Simon Magus, but that it is not Gnostic, rather an archaic philosophical gnosticism, *Recherches sur Simon le Mage*. Frickel believed that it is a paraphrase of an original that goes back to Simon Magus, *Die 'Apophasis Megale'*. Rudolph, *Gnosis*, p. 295 and Lüdemann, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 26–28 reject the conclusions of Salles-Dabadie and Frickel. Beyschlag, *Simon Magus und die christliche Gnosis*, had already alerted us to the fact that 'Apophasis Megale' is unknown to anyone prior to Hippolytus, therefore it cannot be traced to Simon Magus, pp. 39–40. Cerfaux, *Recueil*, pp. 191–257 had already reached similar conclusions earlier. R. Bergmeier casts the discussion within the context of Samaritan cults and the appearance of such titles, "Zur Früdatierung Samaritanischer Theologumena", *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 5 (1974), 121–153 at 146–153. "Se ipsum autem esse Simon dicit eum qui stat. stetit. stabit. cum sit potestas illa quae est super omnia. Haec igitur et Simon", Origen, *Haer.* X, 12, PG 16, 3:3428 and Hippolytus, *Haer.* X, 12, pp. 272–273. (and VI, 9–18).

⁴⁵ Consult the editions already cited in this study for details.

⁴⁶ *Constitutions*, VI. 9.2–3.13–27, pp. 318–319. "Simonianae autem magiae disciplina angelis serviens utique et ipsa inter idololatrias deputabatur et a Petro apostolo in ipso Simone damnabatur", *De praescriptione haereticorum*, 33, 32–34, CSEL 70, p. 42.

⁴⁷ See especially, *Acta Petri*, 32, pp. 82–85 and the *Passio*, 50–56, pp. 162–167.

with his Gnosticism which became the standard *image* of the “heretic of heretics”. Eusebius taught that Simon and his followers engaged in illicit sex and used a secret language known only to them.⁴⁸ Cyril of Jerusalem commenting upon the Acts encounter with Peter, said that Simon Magus’ baptism and confession of faith had been only intellectual and not heartfelt. Simon Magus had externally gone through the motions of conversion but in his heart remained jealous of the apostles: therefore his motives were always suspect.⁴⁹ Gregory Nazianzus similarly emphasized that Simon Magus was a perfect example of hypocrisy. He also introduced a sexual accusation against Simon Magus when he indicated that his followers worshipped many other gods and the Aeons, who were bisexual.⁵⁰ Epiphanius summed up among the Greek Fathers all of the various teachings. The Simonians used sex to pollute women in imitation of their founder. After all, according to Epiphanius, Simon’s seduction of Helena was the perfect example. He went so far as to call Helena “the whore” of the Holy Ghost.⁵¹ The illicit nature of the relationship between Helena and Simon Magus was reiterated several times by Epiphanius. The Simonians also believed that semen and menstrual fluids had the power to provide perfect knowledge, presumably upon ingestion in ceremonies.⁵² In rote fashion, Simon was accused of using magic, demonic powers, idolatry and outright treachery to recruit followers. Epiphanius invoked animal imagery in his closing comments to highlight the evil nature of Simon Magus: he is like a snake, asp, and viper.⁵³ John of Damascus echoed much later the sexual immorality of Simon.⁵⁴

⁴⁸ “Et quae apud illos secretoria habentur, quibus auditis protinus animos audientium aiunt percelli, et ut verbis utar oraculi quod perscriptum habent, obstupescere: revera stuporis et dementiae atque insaniae plenissima sunt: adeo ut non modo scriptis prodi, sed ne sermone quidem efferri possint a modestis hominibus, ob nimiam turpitudinem atque obscenitatem”, *Historia*, II. 13. PG 20:170.

⁴⁹ “Accessit aliquando ad lavacrum etiam Simon Magus, baptizatus est, sed non illuminatus: ac corpus quidem tinxit aqua, cor autem non illuminavit Spiritu; descendit corpus [in piscinam] et ascendit; animo vero non est conseputa cum Christo, neque una cum ipso surrexit”, *Protocatechesis*, I. 2, PG 33:335.

⁵⁰ “Hen Simon Magus; hodie Simon Petrus. Heu, celeritatem! heu, vulpis loco, leonem!” *De se ipso et de episcopis* II. 1.12. 430–431, PG 37:1197 and in *De vita sua*, 1165–1169 PG 37:1109.

⁵¹ *Panarion haer.* 21.2.3, pp. 239–340.

⁵² *Panarion haer.* 21 4.1–2, pp. 242–243.

⁵³ *Panarion haer.* 21.7.1–3, p. 245.

⁵⁴ “Simoniani, dicti a Simon Mago sunt, qui Petri apostoli temporibus, Gitthis

Jerome and Vincent

Jerome did not expend much time and effort on the figure of Simon Magus, but he did not, however, altogether neglect what had become the all-consuming "type" of heretic. His treatment of the figure of Simon Magus emerged in the midst of his attack on Pelagianism while the Priscillianist controversy was still raging in the western Mediterranean. More specifically, Jerome revealed his appropriation of the Simon Magus legacy in his *Letter* to Ctesiphon, written around 415.⁵⁵

Jerome initiated his list with a direct reference to Simon Magus, and for good reason. All of the sources that he utilized, as we have already seen, had Simon Magus as founder of all Christian heresies. All of the heretics Jerome referred to were understood to be "spiritual successors" of Simon, and they were all spiritually embodied in Priscillian.

The position of both Simon and Priscillian at opposite ends of the list does not appear to be incidental. Simon and Priscillian appear as the Alpha and Omega of heresy, for all other heresies in between are ultimately traceable to Simon. Jerome was quite conscious of the fact that in the New Testament it was the Apostle Peter who confronted, rebuked, and silenced Simon Magus. Thus, Simon the "rock" crushed, by his apostolic authority, the other Simon, the "magician", the anti-apostle who established a parallel pseudo-apostolic succession. Again, the sources notably from Eusebius of Caesaria onward were clear on this encounter between Peter and Simon, and in Priscillian according to Jerome was found, spiritually speaking, an enemy of the apostles—and no less than the Apostle Peter, the one chosen by Christ to build his Church. Jerome in one stroke condemned Priscillian and advanced Petrine supremacy.

Vincent of Lérins, like Jerome, elaborated his teaching about Simon Magus in the context of Priscillianism in his widely read work, the *Commonitorium*.⁵⁶ Vincent of Lérins standing, as it were, between the

Samaritae vico oriundus, ex Samarita Christianismus nomine tenus professus est: auctor nefandae obscenitatis, et inquinatissimi omnium sine discrimine corporum concubitus", *De haeresibus liber*, 21, PG 94:690.

⁵⁵ A full treatment of this letter is in, Ferreiro, "Jerome's polemic against Priscillian", pp. 309–332.

⁵⁶ A full treatment of this topic is in A. Ferreiro, "Simon Magus and Priscillian in the *Commonitorium* of Vincent of Lérins", *Vigiliae Christianae* 49 (1995), 180–188.

fading patristic era and the soon emerging early medieval Church truly represented the selective memory of Simon Magus among the Church Fathers.

Vincent provided the precise language to express the succession of heretics from Simon. Like Jerome, he extended the idea of pseudo-apostolic succession far beyond any of the earlier writers, such as Epiphanius of Salamis who limited the successors of Simon Magus to the Gnostics. The emphasis in this section by Vincent is the primacy and centrality of apostolic authority. In the concluding chapters Vincent accused heretics of opposing the Holy See at Rome, specifically the pontiffs Sixtus and Celestine, the successors of St. Peter. To add an extra touch of authority Vincent mentioned the "blessed Apostle Paul" (*Comm.* 33. 1–4. 1.24. p. 194).⁵⁷ Peter and Paul, together, formed an overwhelming source of authority that vindicated Petrine primacy and apostolic succession, respectively. In the pages of the *Commonitorium*, then, Priscillian surfaced, as all heretics do, as a direct opponent of St. Peter.

A crucial element in Vincent's thought was his reference to a "secret and continuous succession" [*Continua et occulta successione manauit Comm.* 24. 10. 43–44. p. 181] of heretics. Vincent rejected the claim of heretics to possess the true faith, allegedly concealed for centuries, and which has now been made manifest in their teachings (*Comm.* 21. 7. 31–34. p. 176). He found these arguments wholly unacceptable and warned sternly, "Where in previous times there was the sanctuary of chaste and uncorrupted truth there will be a brothel of impious and filthy errors" (*Comm.* 23. 15. 71–74. p. 179). Heretics upheld doctrinal innovations never followed or accepted at any time by Catholics. In order to emphasize the provincial nature of heresies, Vincent observed how they invariably surfaced at punctuated times, in limited geographic areas, and under the name of specific individuals (*Comm.* 24. 6. 26–29. p. 181). When heretics claimed to have the true teachings of the faith they implied that everyone else had been in doctrinal ignorance for centuries. Priscillian was one of several heretics whom Vincent mentioned as holding such attitudes. (*Comm.* 24. 4–5. 14–25. pp. 180–181). He also recalled the manner in which heretics emphasize *their* church, an exclusive divine

⁵⁷ Vincentii Lerinensis, *Commonitorium, Excerpta*. (cura) R. Demeulenaere. CCL 64. Turnholti 1985, 32.1–7. 1–31. p. 93 and 33.1–7. 1–40. pp. 194–195.

grace, truth known only to their own *small circle*, and given to their select members (*Comm.* 26. 8–9. 28–37. p. 185). The apostolic message, on the other hand, was consistently open and believed by the faithful everywhere and at all times. Heretical teachers, therefore, consciously broke away from the abiding universal teachings of the Church.

Vincent of Lérins borrowed from an earlier Simon Magus tradition referred to in the Acts of the Apostles in the New Testament and in patristic writers to advance his arguments to censure Priscillianism. We cannot find any trace in Vincent of a use of the apocryphal *Acta Petri* and *Passio* in the *Commonitorium*. This is not indicative, however, that he was not acquainted with that tradition. Vincent believed he was upholding in the *Commonitorium* the traditions and teachings of the apostles enunciated in the universal Councils. It is through Priscillian that Vincent was able to identify “living proof” of the spirit of Simon Magus working in his own time through a fake succession. Whereas in the earlier tradition Simon Magus was held culpable of engendering Gnosticism only, now Vincent charged him with spiritually propagating in Priscillian a continuing line of heretics. Of all the Church Fathers, Jerome and Vincent alone extended the idea of heretical succession from Simon Magus far beyond the Gnostic.

Conclusion

No question exists that the various sects, identified as Gnostics, who rivaled the emerging Catholic groups were foremost in the minds of the Church Fathers. Gnostic groups were just as determined as their Catholic opponents to legitimize their views by linking themselves by way of charismatic utterances or through written texts attributed directly to the apostles. It became of utmost importance for Catholic apologists to decisively demonstrate that Gnosticism did not teach apostolic doctrine, but in fact was founded or inspired by those who opposed the apostles themselves. In order to establish this historical verity, Irenaeus taught that Simon Magus was the father of all Gnostic heresy and that the Simonians of his own day claimed him as founder, thus he established the Gnostic Simon Magus “type”. In the late third and early fourth century we can detect a shift in the Simon Magus type. As Gnosticism itself began to wane and disappear rapidly, so did the portrait of Simon Magus as a Gnostic.

Increasingly he became the prototype of all heretics. The memory of Simon Magus as anti-apostle specifically against Peter, sexual pervert, inventor of doctrinal heresy, perpetrator of pseudo-apostolic succession, and magician endured in the Middle Ages. From the sixth century onward the *image* of Simon Magus as founder of Gnosticism faded into the background as new “types”, literary and artistic, were created by the Church to oppose the enemies of orthodoxy.

CHAPTER FOUR

SIMON MAGUS AND SIMON PETER IN THE ACTS OF PETER AND THE PASSION OF THE HOLY APOSTLES PETER AND PAUL*

The 'Acts of Peter' (*Acta Petri*) and the 'Passion of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul' (*Passio*) mark the end of the development of the Simon Magus and Simon Peter legends in the post-New Testament era. This material would be the basis for further medieval adaptations of the Simon Magus and Simon Peter 'types' as the Church faced new challenges to its orthodoxy. While some leave the impression that *Acta Petri*, written approximately in 150 A.D., reflects the finality of the writing of apocryphal acts on Peter and Paul, it is more precise to place it with the *Passio*, which was written in the fifth or sixth century.¹ Both of these works signal a departure from

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¹ I am using for *Actus Petri cum Simone* the edition by R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, pp. 45–103, and for *Passio Sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli*, (ed.) R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*. Lipsiae 1891 [Reprint Hildesheim 1972], pp. 119–177. The standard English edition of *Acta Petri* is in *New Testament Apocrypha*, E. Hennecke (ed.) W. Schneemelcher, (trans.) R. McL. Wilson. 2 vols. Philadelphia 1965, 2: 279–322, textual commentary is at, pp. 259–275. See A. Hilhorst, *The text of the Actus Vercellenses*, and G. Poupon, *L'origine africaine des Actus Vercellenses*, in *The Apocryphal Acts of Peter. Magic, miracles, and gnosticism*, (ed.) J. N. Bremmer, [Studies on the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles 3], Leuven 1998, pp. 148–160 and 192–199 respectively. For the *Passio*, *Acts of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul*, in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers* 8, A. Roberts and J. Donaldson (eds), Grand Rapids 1951, pp. 477–485. A good survey is in A. Rimoldi, *La letteratura apocriфа dalle origini alla meta del secolo V*, in *L'apostolo San Pietro*, [Analecta Gregoriana 96], Roma 1958, pp. 248–262, reprinted in *La Scuola Cattolica* 83 (1955), pp. 196–224. For technical studies on the *Acts of Peter* see C. H. Turner, *The Latin Acts of Peter*, in *Journal of Theological Studies* 32 (1931), pp. 119–133. See also on *Acta Petri*, P. Nagel, *Die apocryphen Apostelaktes des 2. und 3. Jahrhunderts in der Manichäischen Literatur*, in *Gnosis und Neue Testament*, (ed.) K.-W. Tröger, Berlin 1973, pp. 149–182. J. D. Kaestli doubts the *Acta* circulated as a corpus or that Manichaeans held them in high esteem, *L'utilisation des Actes Apocryphes des Apôtres dans le Manichéisme*, in *Gnosis and Gnosticism*, (ed.) M. Krause, [Nag Hammadi Studies 8], Leiden 1977, pp. 107–116.

the earlier more pervasive emphasis on Simon Magus as the chief Gnostic and founder of many such sects. The emphasis on Simon the magician, which is also present in anti-Gnostic portrayals on the Church Fathers, became the major focus of the *Acta Petri* and the *Passio*. Moreover, as the Gnostic Simon Magus 'type' began to fade in memory, the magician 'type' came to dominate in the medieval centuries, through these two sources. It would be misleading if the impression were left that *Acta Petri* and the *Passio* are identical documents mirroring, as it were, the same stories and portraits of Simon Magus and Simon Peter. Much useful scholarship has been carried out on the *Acta Petri*, less so on the *Passio*.² Surprisingly, there has been almost no attempt whatsoever to carry out a comparative analysis of the *Acta Petri* and the *Passio*. In this article I propose to elucidate how the main characters differ in purpose, namely Simon Magus and Simon Peter. I also seek to identify how supporting persons are portrayed, the theological messages embedded in these stories, and pastoral practices related to popular piety. Finally, this analysis will aid the reader to identify and appreciate the extent of how these two sources shaped the literary and artistic images of Simon Magus and Simon Peter in the post-patristic church.

1. *Women*

One glaring difference between the *Acta Petri* and the *Passio* is the prominent place of women in the former and their near absence in

at 108 and 112. A brief bibliography is in P. J. Lalleman and J. N. Bremmer, *Bibliography of the Acts of Peter*, in *The Apocryphal Acts of Peter*, pp. 200–202.

² Fundamental studies on *Acta Petri* are Flamion, which to date is the most detailed and comprehensive study, *Les Actes apocryphes de Pierre*, in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 9 (1908), pp. 233–254; 465–490; 10 (1909), pp. 5–29, 245–277; 11 (1910), pp. 5–28, 223–256, 447–470 and 675–692 and 12 (1911), pp. 209–230 and 437–450. See also, L. Vouaux, *Les Actes de Pierre*, Paris 1922. On the figure of Peter see, G. Dumeige, *Personne ou personnage de Saint Pierre dans les apocryphes pétriniens?*, in *Saecularia Petri et Pauli*, [Studi di Antichità Cristiana 28], Città del Vaticano 1969, pp. 85–103. B. McNeil, *A liturgical source in Acts of Peter 38*, in *Vigiliae Christianae* 33 (1979), pp. 342–346; R. F. Stoops Jr., *Patronage in the Acts of Peter*, in *The Apocryphal Acts of Apostles*, [Semica 38], Tucson 1986, pp. 91–100; A landmark study is by G. Poupon, *Les Actes de Pierre' et leur remaniement*, in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* II, Berlin 1988, pp. 4363–4383. An overview of editions is in E. Junod, *Apocryphes du NT ou apocryphes chrétiens anciens?*, in *Études Théologiques et Religieuses* 58 (1983), pp. 409–421. For up-to-date research on the *Acts of Peter* see the essays in the J. N. Bremmer volume cited in note 1.

the latter. The belief by a few scholars that such a prominence of women in *Acta Petri* is evidence of feminine authorship has been decidedly repudiated by recent studies. Likewise, those who see some form of feminist liberation in the activities of these women have met with opposition.³ One thing all agree upon is that *Acta Petri* definitely promoted fidelity, and even more so virginity and asceticism, as a higher calling for women.⁴ Incidentally, the *Acta Petri* and *Passio* likewise conveyed the same lessons to men. The *Acta Petri*, in particular, was not a work aiming to keep women in their place. No patriarchal masochism is to be found therein, the moral messages cut across gender lines and even age groups. Laying aside current gender discussions, let us see what exactly was the role these women had in this 'populist' literature of early Christianity.⁵

The one incident the *Acta Petri* and *Passio* have in common is regarding the conversion of the wives and concubines of Agrippa. The *Passio* recalled that Agrippina converted and left her husband to pursue the life of a consecrated virgin. It also added that Libia, Nero's wife, did so too.⁶ The *Acta Petri* yields us more information

³ On the alleged feminine authorship see, D. R. MacDonald, *The role of women in the production of the Apocryphal Acts of Apostles*, in *The Iliff Review* 40 (1984), pp. 21–38 who does not emphasize the point as strongly as V. Burrus, *Chastity as Autonomy: Women in the stories of the Apocryphal Acts*, Master's Thesis, Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley 1984. A version or summary is in *Semeia* 38 (1986), pp. 101–117. Recent studies meticulously undermine the feminine authorship as anachronisms as proposed by Burrus and MacDonald, see J. D. Kaestli, *Fiction littéraire et réalité sociale: Que peut-on savoir de la place des femmes dans le milieu de productions des actes apocryphes des apôtres?*, in *Apocrypha* (1990), pp. 279–302 and P. W. Dunn, *Women's Liberation, the Acts of Paul, and other Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, in *Apocrypha* 4 (1993), pp. 245–261.

⁴ Consult, A. Hamman, 'Sitz im Leben' des actes apocryphes du Nouveau Testament, in *Studia Patristica* 8 (1966), pp. 62–69; R. S. Kraemer, *The Conversion of Women to Ascetic Forms of Christianity*, in *Signs* 6 (1980), pp. 298–307 and J. K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal Acts*, in *The Expository Times* 105 (1993), pp. 71–77, at 76. J. N. Bremmer, *Aspects of the Acts of Peter: Women, magic, place and date*, in *The Apocryphal Acts of Peter*, pp. 1–20.

⁵ J. D. Kaestli, *Les principales orientations de la recherche sur les Actes Apocryphes des Apôtres*, in *Les Actes Apocryphes des Apôtres*, pp. 49–67 argues they reflect popular religion and J. K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal Acts*, agrees with this view, p. 74. A. Hamman, *Sitz im Leben*, believes they were directed at groups (communities of faith) rather than individuals, suggesting a populist audience, p. 64. R. Söder posits that *Actas* were written for an elite group and not for a popular audience, *Die Apocryphen Apostelgeschichten und die romanhafte Literatur der Antike*, Darmstadt 1969. T. Adamik, *The image of Simon Magus, in The Apocryphal Acts of Peter*, pp. 52–64, who believes the *Acts of Peter* was written to 'entertain simple Christian people,' p. 64.

⁶ *Per praedicationem Petri, contigit etiam uxorem Neronis Liviā et Agrippae praefecti coniugem nomine Agrippinā ita conuertit, ut a latere se suorum maritorum auferrent: Passio*, 10,11–14, p. 129.

regarding these controversial conversions at the highest rung of Roman society allegedly in the middle of the first century. The *Passio* which was written much later excluded these details. The *Acta Petri* actually is a clue to the way Agrippina left Agrippa, and the case of Libia could have been construed similarly. In *Acta Petri*, Agrippa had four concubines who converted, refused to have sex with him, and left to follow Peter. They were named Agrippina, Nicaria, Euphemia, and Doris.⁷ The Agrippina of the *Passio* was presented as a 'singular' wife, while in the *Acta Petri* she was one of four concubines of Agrippa. It seems 'wife' and 'concubine' are being used quite freely in *Acta Petri* and the former term does not reflect the social norm: that a husband was to have one woman as wife and vice versa. In any case, Agrippa was so angered at the abandonment of his women that he determined to punish Peter severely.⁸ The *Acta Petri* contains similar incidents among other men as a result of Peter's preaching. Albinus, a noble Roman, lost his 'wife' Xanthippe, who left with other women to follow Peter.⁹ The 'other women' were clearly concubines and it is very likely that Albinia was one, too. Albinus, Agrippa, and other men came together to vent their anger and to demand that Peter be detained, if not executed, for his subversive preaching, an event that in the end would come to pass. István Karasszon reminds us that it was Albinus who pressed for Peter's execution and not Agrippa, although the latter went along with the vengeful act.¹⁰

The model of virginity in *Acta Petri* respected no gender boundaries. The message was not directed exclusively at women either to box them into constrictive social roles or even as some sort liberation from male dominance, as suggested by some. Rather, it was intended to promote the concept of monogamous marriages, a teaching of Jesus and reinforced unequivocally in Paul's letters. In the Xanthippe

⁷ *Acta Petri* 33,15–16, pp. 84–85. The Latin text of the Greek recession has omitted the lines which name the women.

⁸ *Dixit eis Agrippa: Petrus uos prohibuit non communicare mecum; ille uos haec docuit. Acta Petri*, 33,18–20, p. 85. His wrath against Peter is reflected in *Passio*, too: *Agrippa dixit: Quoniam Paulus innocens uidetur; Petrus autem homicidi reus est, insuper et inreligiosus Passio*, 58,11–12, p. 169.

⁹ *Vna autem Forma formosissima, Alumi clarissimi uiri amici Caesaris coniunx nomine Xanthippe, cum alias matronas conueniens ad Petrum de castitate seruanda sustulit se a marito: Acta Petri*, 34,1–4, p. 87.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 86–87. For his death see 38–41, pp. 94–104. I. Karasszon, *Agrippa, King and Prefect*, in *The Apocryphal Acts of Peter*, pp. 21–28 at 23.

episode we are informed that men, too, embraced virginity.¹¹ In fact, the message to all men through the relationship of Agrippa and Nero was fidelity in marriage, which excluded having an entourage of concubines. This principle was maintained in the *Acta Petri* and was directed at men and women if single. The ones at fault for promoting concubinage were the men who had allowed their lust to rule over them rather than taming the passion for sexual gratification which found legitimate expression only in a monogamous relationship between a man and woman.¹² Furthermore, concubines were 'free' to leave their 'husbands' because there did not exist any valid sacrament of marriage in concubinage.

There are other women in *Acta Petri* who reinforced the Christian concept of marriage, virginity, and widowhood. There is the case of Candida, wife of Quartus, who converted to the faith and then herself persuaded her husband to become a Christian.¹³ Women with unbelieving husbands had full freedom to share their faith with unbelieving spouses. Rufina, a persistent adulteress, was denied the Eucharist and struck down with paralysis on her left side which rendered her mute. As the crowd witnessed this miraculous chastisement while Paul preached they converted in large numbers to the faith.¹⁴ Virgins and widows appear in the *Acta Petri* as influential intercessors for the apostles. Two anonymous women and a man named Narcissus, not initially deceived by Simon Magus, prayed that God would send

¹¹ *Multae autem conplures et aliae honestae feminae, audientes uerbum de castitate, recedebant a uiris suis, et uiri a mulieribus, propter quod uellent caste et munda deo seruire: Acta Petri, 34,7-10, p. 87.*

¹² The consistent teaching of the church against concubinage in subsequent centuries was prominent still in the sixth century as reflected in the sermons of Caesarius of Arles, see A. Ferreiro, *Modeles laïcs de sainteté dans les sermons de Césaire d'Arles, in Clovis. Histoire et mémoire. Clovis et son temps, l'événement*. Actes du Colloque international d'histoire de Reims, 19-25 Septembre 1996, (ed.) M. Rouche, Paris 1997, pp. 97-114. Kraemer exaggerates the insistence on chastity by seeing it as a demand to leave their family. The *Acta Petri* was hardly presenting here a wholesome monogamous 'family' or marriage in these instances, thus weakening her argument, *The Conversion of Women*, p. 301.

¹³ *Contigit etiam quendam nomine Candidum, uxorem Quarti a praecclusionibus, audire Paulum et intueri sermonibus illius et credere. cumque et ipsa maritum suum docuisset, et credidisset: Acta Petri 1,2-6, p. 45.*

¹⁴ *In quibus contigit quendam nomine Rufinam, uolens itaque et ipsa eucharistiam de manibus Pauli percipere. cui Paulus spiritu dei repletus accedenti dixit: Rufina, non tamquam digna accedes ad altarium dei, surgens a latere non mariti sed moechi, et dei eucharistiam temptas accipere... Et confestim Rufina a sinistra parte a capite usque ad ungues pedum contorminata cecidit. cui nec potestas data est loquendi: lingua enim eius obhgata est: Acta Petri 2,13-18 and 25-27, p. 46.*

Paul to Rome to oppose the magician.¹⁵ Widows under the protection of one Senator Marcellus were encouraged by him to pray for Peter. The Senator also implored a group of virgins to pray for Peter in view of his upcoming fight with Simon Magus.¹⁶ All of the women, regardless of their social and religious status, paid homage to Peter and Paul as a visible sign of submission, as did the men.

In the *Acta Petri* Peter and Paul were associated on numerous occasions with women from the upper classes of Roman society. The matrons Berenice and Philostrate, from Caesar's household, were there to bid Paul farewell when he departed.¹⁷ Eubula was the most well known of Peter's converts from among wealthy Romans. Once persuaded by Peter to abandon Simon Magus, she became a model believer in the region of Judea: donating her wealth generously to the poor, widows, and orphans. As an added bonus she recovered property, mainly jewelry, which Simon Magus and two of his cohorts had stolen.¹⁸ Peter in his opening speech to the crowds against Simon Magus upheld one Eubula as a paragon convert to Christ. Chryse, another wealthy matron, donated to Peter 10,000 pieces of gold after being told to do so in a dream. In the midst of these incidents Peter was rebuked for receiving money from a fornicator who allegedly had a preference for young boys.¹⁹ The fact that Peter accepted the money indicates that he considered such accusations as slander. One is reminded of the times Jesus was accused of mingling with sinners and tax collectors. Xanthippe was one of many women, virgins and widows, who pleaded to no avail with Agrippa to extend clemency to Peter. She was the one who warned Peter about the plot to kill him at the palace. She and Senator Marcellus pleaded with the apostle to escape.²⁰ All of these events were the prelude to the famous Quo Vadis? episode recorded in *Acta Petri*.

¹⁵ *Praeter Nacissum praesbyterum et duabus mulieribus in hospitio Bytynorum et quattuor qui iam de domo prodire non poterant, et inclusi die et nocte orationibus uacantes et petentes a domino, ut Paulus celerius reuerteretur aut quicumque alius qui usitet seruos suos, quoniam dissoluerat eos diabolus nequitia sua: Acta Petri, 4,15-20, p. 49.*

¹⁶ *Acta Petri* 22, pp. 69-70.

¹⁷ *et duae matronae Berenice et Filostrate cum praesbytero Narcisso postquam deduxerunt eum in portum: Acta Petri 3,6-8, p. 48.*

¹⁸ *Eubola autem postquam recepit omnia sua dedit in ministerium pauperorum, credens autem in dominum Iesum Christum et confortata et contemnens et abrenuntians huic saeculo, tribuebat uidus et orfanis et uestiens pauperos, per multum tempus accepit dormitionem; Acta Petri, 17,19-23, p. 65*

¹⁹ *Acta Petri* 30,5-12, p. 81.

²⁰ *Acta Petri* 35, pp. 87-91.

Peter's demonstration of his superior authority over Simon Magus manifested itself often through women, who were recipients of miraculous interventions. Peter sent a woman and her child to denounce Simon Magus, but it was the infant who was given the voice of a man to speak God's message,²¹ possibly an image representing Mary and her Son. An episode with a group of old blind widows is perhaps the most mystical in all of the *Acta Petri*. After hearing that Peter healed a blind widow, they asked him for the same favor. Peter instead agreed to open their 'spiritual eyes' so as to see Jesus. Each of them testified to seeing a spiritual light which opened their spiritual eyes enabling them to see Jesus individually. The opening of spiritual eyes which led to salvation was to be preferred over the desire for physical healing which may soon be forgotten or explained away.²² If one examines the *Acta Petri* and the *Passio* closely, all of the miracles have as their goal to lead people to conversion, or opening of 'spiritual eyes'. Simon Magus, too, at times performed miraculous deeds, but his resulted in 'spiritual blindness' which led to eternal damnation. Readers no doubt recalled Jesus' warning to those who cried out, "'Lord, Lord did we not prophesy in your name, and in your name drive out demons and perform many miracles?' Then I will tell them plainly, 'I never knew you. Away from me, you evildoers'".²³ A widow whose son had been killed by Simon Magus was restored to life by Peter. The apostle prophesied that he would someday become a deacon and then a bishop.²⁴ The mother of a Senator begged for the resurrection of her dead son. She received her petition after she repented and converted. In this incident in which Simon Magus was present, Peter challenged him to raise the son. Simon Magus approached the body, which was at a distance, and manipulated it to make it appear to move. Peter recognized the feigned miracle. He ordered Simon Magus to step away to let the dead son move on his own. Once Peter healed the young man, he unwrapped himself from the burial clothes and called for his mother.²⁵

²¹ *Acta Petri* 15, pp. 61-62.

²² *Acta Petri* 21, pp. 68-69.

²³ *Mt.* 7,22-23.

²⁴ *Et uocem accipiens Christi domini mei, dico tibi: uuemus, surge et ambula cum matrem tua usque dum ei prode es postea autem mihi uagauis altus ministrans, diaconi ac episcopi sorte. Acta Petri* 27,9-12, p. 74. The entire episode is in chapters 25 to 27, pp. 72-74.

²⁵ *et tangens Petrus puer latus dixit: Surge. Et surgens puer sustulit uestimenta sua et sedit et soluit sibi mentum, petens aliam uestimenta, descendit de lecto et dixit ad Petrum: Acta Petri* 28, 21-23, p. 77.

Peter, however, had further requirements of the converted mother: she was to free the son's personal slaves and give generous alms, especially to widows.²⁶ The woman invited Peter to her house, where she gave him 2,000 pieces of gold for a group of consecrated virgins. The son in turn gave him 4,000 pieces and became his disciple.²⁷ These acts of charity reflected tangible acknowledgment of the freedom the mother and the son had experienced. The almsgiving to widows caused the woman to empathize with those who had no sons. In short, almsgiving, virginity, and prayer were the marks of holiness emphasized throughout in *Acta Petri*, virtues not limited to women only. Those who read or had the *Acta Petri* read to them gained a clearer idea of what discipleship demanded, regardless of social or religious status—married, virgin, or widow, and male or female. Another clear feature is that women were treated as spiritual equals to men throughout.

2. Men

In this section I explore two types of men: those who converted to the message of the apostles and those who remained obdurate. The apostles Peter and Paul will be treated separately because of their central and unique roles in *Acta Petri* and *Passio*, the same is true for Nero and Agrippa.

Other than the apostles and Nero and Agrippa the two accounts have in common one prominent man: the Senator Marcellus. In a previous study I have already expounded the central role of Senator Marcellus in the dog incident in *Acta Petri*. Senator Marcellus emerged as a male role model, particularly for those of his class. He showed true repentance and contrition of heart as he fell at Peter's feet begging for God's forgiveness,²⁸ which the apostle willingly granted.

²⁶ *Et cum hoc dixisset ad populum, accessit ad puerum et antequam suscitet eum, dixit ad matrem eius: Istos iuvenes quos marum misisti in honore filii tui, possunt liberi obsequium domino suo uuo prestare: scio enim quorundam animum ledi, quod uiderint filium tuum surrexisse, quod iterum seruituri sunt illi. sed permaneant omnes liberi, percipientes euaria sicut ante percipiebant, filius enim tuus resurrecturus est, et cum eo sint . . . Cui dixit Petrus: Cetera uidius distribuatur. *Acta Petri* 28,5 12, and 15-16, p. 77.*

²⁷ *Acta Petri* 29,6-15, p. 79.

²⁸ I disagree with R. F. Stoops Jr. who does not see Marcellus as a 'model' believer, *Patronage in the Acts of Peter*, p. 98. *exiuit ad ianuam prouiciens se ad pedes Petri*

Marcellus continued, more so than when he was under the spell of Simon Magus, to give alms to the poor, orphans, and widows: a distinguishing mark of holiness. Marcellus even had the opportunity to perform a miracle, which in itself was a visible sign of the grace he has just found, when he restored whole a large statue of Caesar.²⁹ In the ensuing encounters after the dog incident Marcellus remained close to Peter. Marcellus became the source of encouragement to Peter through a dream which he shared with the apostle. In that dream, Jesus and Peter cut into pieces a demonic figure in the shape of a black Ethiopian woman. The dancer no doubt represented Simon Magus and the sword Jesus, the true Word of God which Peter used to cut down the demonic woman.³⁰ After hearing the dream Peter was reported to have been 'cheered' and 'refreshed' in the spirit. Marcellus, the former follower of Simon Magus was now a co-worker with Peter in the struggle against the deceptions of Simon Magus. In the *Passio* Marcellus did not appear until after the martyrdom of Peter. After the execution he and fellow believers secretly took the body of Peter to give it a proper burial and to preserve his precious remains. Some have seen a biblical parallel here with that of Joseph of Arimathea—also a wealthy convert—who requested and was granted permission to take the body of Jesus for burial.³¹ Although the *Passio* did not mention the body of Paul (who was beheaded almost to the day of Peter's inverted crucifixion) being collected by Marcellus,³² but since both apostles were buried together one is left to assume that Marcellus collected both bodies.³³ The emphasis in the *Passio* clearly was always on Peter.

*et dixit: Petre, amplexor pedes tuos, sancte dei sancti seruius, multa peccavi: ut non exequans peccata mea: Acta Petri 10,14–17, p. 57. For a detailed study of the Dog incident see A. Ferreiro, *Simon Magus, Dogs and Simon Peter*, in *The Devil, Heresy, and Witchcraft in the Middle Ages: Essays in honor of Jeffrey B. Russell*, (ed.) A. Ferreiro, [Cultures, Beliefs, and Traditions 6], Leiden 1998, pp. 45–89, ill.*

²⁹ *Et sparsit super lapides aquam, et statua integra facta est: Acta Petri 11,26–27, p. 59.*

³⁰ *Acta Petri 22, pp. 4–26, p. 70. See Bremmer, *Aspects of the Acts of Peter*, p. 8.*

³¹ *Statim ibi apparuerunt uiri sancti, quos unquam nemo uiderat ante nec postea uidere potuerunt isti dicebant se propter ipsum de Hierosolymis aduenisse. et ipsi una cum Marcello, industri uir, qui crediderat et relinquens Simonem Petrum secutus fuerat, abstulerunt corpus eius occulte et posuerunt sub terebinthum iuxta Naumachiam in locum qui appellatur Vahcanus: Passio 63, p. 173. For the parallel with Joseph of Arimathea see G. Poupon, *Les Actes de Pierre*, p. 4376. The text is in *Mt.* 27,57–61; *Mt.* 15,42–47; *Lc.* 23,50–56 and *Io.* 19,38–42.*

³² *Et deducti sunt Petrus et Paulus a conspectu Neronis. Paulus decollatus est in uia Ostiensi: Passio 59, p. 171.*

³³ The 'relics' or bodies are mentioned together when men from the East came

The collection of the apostles' bodies in *Passio* brings us to a fascinating series of events completely absent in *Acta Petri*. Eusebius related that veneration of bodies in the Church fared as far back as Polycarp.³⁴ This veneration, however, unfolded gradually and very likely unevenly, as Christianity spread into the farthest reaches of the Empire. The *Passio*, written several centuries after *Acta Petri*, testified to the widespread veneration of relics. Gregory of Tours recorded in the sixth century that the very stone on which Peter and Paul knelt to pray against Simon Magus was still to be seen at Rome. When it rained, the indentations in the stone collected water, and the ill who came and drank the water were miraculously healed. Peter's relics became the source of miraculous cures as people lowered cloths to touch the tomb of the apostle, reminiscent of the bones of Elisha.³⁵

After the deaths of Peter and Paul news of this tragedy spread very rapidly among the churches. The *Passio* recorded that men from the East came to take the relics of Peter and Paul, presumably to Constantinople, the new capital of the Empire, although we cannot rule out Antioch or even Jerusalem.³⁶ What prevented the transfer? The *Passio* revealed that it was divine Providence—a strong earthquake put fear in the hearts of the men from East and they fled back home. The Romans, nevertheless, hid the relics three miles outside of Rome fearing they would come back.³⁷ One year and seven months later a shrine was built in their honor at the place called Vatican in an official ceremony on 29 June, which became

to claim them, *Sanctorum autem apostolorum dum a Graecis corpora tollerentur ad orientem ferenda: Passio* 66,8–9, p. 175.

³⁴ Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 4,15, in *Eusèbe de Césarée. Histoire ecclésiastique* 1: *Livres I–IV*, ed. G. Bardy, SC 31, Paris 1952, pp. 181–190.

³⁵ *Cuius (Petri) oratione vel Pauli Simonis Magi calliditas vel detecta est vel obruta. Estant hodieque apud urbem Romanam duae fossulae, super quem beati apostoli, deflexu poplite, orationem contra ipsum simonem magum ad Dominum effuderunt. In quibus cum de pluvius limphae collector fuerint, a morbidis expentetur, haustaeque mox sanitatem tribuunt: De gloria martyrum* I, 27, MGH SRM I, Hannoverae 1885, p. 503. *Glory of the Martyrs*, (trans.) R. Van Dam, [Translated Texts for Historians, Latin Series 3], Liverpool 1988, p. 45. For Elisha see 2 Reg. 13,20–21. The traditional stone is kept today in Rome in the Church of Francesca Romana.

³⁶ In the *Passio* both Peter and Paul were identified as being from Jerusalem, *isti decibant se propter ipsum de Hierosolymis aduenisse. Passio* 63,11–12, p. 173.

³⁷ *extitit terrae motus nimius, et occurrit populus Romanus et comprehenderunt eos in loco, qui dicitur Catacumba uia Appia miliario tertio: Passio* 66,9–11, p. 175.

and remains the solemn Feast of Peter and Paul.³⁸ The *Passio*, which promoted the apostolic primacy of Rome through Peter, indicated that God had clearly made his will known through the earthquake. We get a glimpse of the rapidly emerging rivalry over apostolic authority between the eastern churches and that of the western ones headed by Rome. Strikingly absent, however, at the end of *Passio* are any miracles attributed to the relics of Peter and Paul.

In *Acta Petri* we discover a greater diversity of men for whose allegiance the apostles struggle against Simon Magus. The preaching of Peter had great impact at the highest levels of Roman society among men and women. Several members of Caesar's household were identified by name as converts of Peter: Cleobius, Iphitus, Lysimachus, Aritaeus, and the presbyter Narcissus.³⁹ A magistrate named Pompeius arrested two of Simon Magus's cohorts and exposed them as thieves. Simon showed his true face when he abandoned his two companions upon seeing the hostile mob that had assembled against him.⁴⁰ We see in *Acta Petri* an emerging situation in which the powerful (Nero and Agrippa), were feeling besieged by the message of Peter. The story emphasized the loss of concubines as the matter which really unleashed their anger at the apostles, highlighting the sexual perversity of those who kept concubines.

The story of Theon the ship captain and his friend Aristan shifted the attention of the reader away from the debates and machinations between Peter, Simon Magus, and Roman royalty and aristocrats. In this story Peter was presented in action as pastor and evangelist on a more personal level. Theon's conversion is the only one in *Acta Petri* that was gradual and not the result of miracles or dramatic changes of mind.⁴¹

³⁸ *et ibi custodita sunt corpora anno uno et mensibus septem, quousque fabricarentur loca in quibus fuerunt posita corpora eorum. et illic reuocata sunt cum gloria hymnorum et posita sancti Petri in Vaticano Naumachiae et sancti Pauli in uia Ostensi mihario secundo: ubi praestantur beneficia orationum in saecula saeculorum. Amen: Passio* 66,11-14 and 1-3, pp. 175 and 177.

³⁹ *Item de domo Caesaris Cleobius et Iphitus et Lysimachus et Aristeus: Acta Petri* 3,5-6, p. 48.

⁴⁰ *et iussit eos perducī et quaestionati. ad illi cum essent in tormentis, confessi sunt se Simoni ministerium prestare 'adducente nos denarios' . . . Pompeius haec ubi audiuit, surrexit ut iret ad portam duobus illis ligatis binis catenis et ecce Simon introibat portam quaerens eos, quod tarde facerent; et uidet turbam magnam uenientem et illos ligatos catenis statim intellexit et fuga petiit, et non comparuit in Iudea usque in hoc tempus: Acta Petri* 17,9-12 and 14-19, p. 65.

⁴¹ *Acta Petri* 5 and 6, pp. 49-53. For remarks on Theon's gradual conversion see, E. V. Gallagher, *Conversion and Salvation in the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, in *Second Century* 8 (1991), pp. 13-29 at 22.

Theon captained the ship that took Peter from Caesarea to Rome. He was told in a dream to treat Peter with respect because he was a source of divine protection. As they became acquainted Theon invited Peter to dinner. There, Peter shared with him how God chose him among the apostles to lead the Church. After this initial encounter and after instruction Theon believed and asked Peter to baptize him. Peter did so while Theon confessed the Trinity.⁴² The conversion of Theon while breaking bread reminisced the New Testament opening of spiritual 'eyes' when Jesus broke bread with the disciples.⁴³ Angels appeared to Peter and Theon, and proclaimed "Peace be with you". In the ship's cabin Peter offered Theon his first Eucharist, and they "feasted and rejoiced in the Lord".⁴⁴ At this stage of the narrative Theon's friend Aristan, a believer, appeared rejoicing in his friend's conversion. Aristan expressed his desire to meet Peter so as to be 'refreshed' [in the Spirit] since Paul had already departed for Spain. The emphasis on special graces flowing from the apostles highlighted the priestly nature of their authority.⁴⁵ Aristan, moreover, was the messenger who told Peter how Simon Magus had perverted the Church at Rome. He fell on his face at Peter's feet and implored him to go to Rome to depose Simon Magus.⁴⁶ A fascinating detail here is the anti-Semitic statement by Aristan: he called Simon Magus a Jew, not a Samaritan, the latter being the ethnic identity which the Acts of the Apostles clearly used and was passed on to the Church by Justin Martyr.⁴⁷ Once Peter

⁴² *Petrus per funem descendens, baptizavit Theonem in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti ille autem subiit ab aqua gaudens gaudio magno, item Petrus hilarius factus, quod dignum habuisset deus Theonem nomine suo. Acta Petri 5,29–33, p. 50.*

⁴³ Among others, the most memorable is the Emmaus episode in *Lc.* 24,13–35.

⁴⁴ *sic itaque in tuo nomine eucharistiam tuam communico ei, ut sit consummatus servus tuus sine reprehensione in perpetuo. Aepulantibus autem illis et gaudentibus in dominum. Acta Petri 5,8–11, p. 51.*

⁴⁵ *dicebat enim Aristhon, ex eo Paulus profectus est in Spaniam, non fuisse neminem de fratribus ad quem refrigerare: Acta Petri 6,25–27, p. 51.*

⁴⁶ *Acta Petri 6,27–30, p. 51.*

⁴⁷ *praeiura Iudaeum quendam intrasse in urbem, nomine Simonem. magico carmine adque sua nequitia hic inde omnem fraternitatem dissoluit, ut etiam ego a Roma fugerem, sperans venire Petrum: Acta Petri 6,27–30, p. 51.* J. W. Drane argues that Simon Magus was not condemned in Acts of the Apostles to maintain unity of Jews and Samaritans, *Simon the Samaritan and the Lucan Concept of Salvation History*, in *The Evangelical Quarterly* 47 (1975), pp. 131–137. V. K. P. Rigby sees Peter as a (Jew) who conquered Simon Magus a (Samaritan) to keep the Samaritans in a lesser position, *Simon Magus: History versus Tradition, in Apocryphal Writing and the Latter-Day Saints*, (ed.) C. W. Griggs, Salt Lake City 1986, p. 250.

indicated that he would go to Rome, Theon sold his cargo, and he and Aristan joined the apostle. Having arrived they made their way to the house of the presbyter Narcissus, one of the converts of Caesar's household.⁴⁸

This story in *Acta Petri*, embellishments aside, offers a close-up second-century glimpse into *how* Christianity spread in the Roman Empire. The apostles often made converts one at a time rather than at public rallies. Furthermore, the maritime routes became indispensable in the spread of Christianity through the Empire. The existence of Christian communities founded by others, as was the case here of the believers already at Rome, were oftentimes in need of apostolic guidance. The weight of apostolic authority attributed to Peter and Paul and to those they left behind gave strong impetus to historic apostolic succession, a doctrine not seriously repudiated among Christians until the sixteenth century.⁴⁹ The centrality of the Eucharist in Theon's conversion preceded by confession, baptism, and confirmation shows the early origins of these sacraments, which became the definitive rituals in Roman Catholicism and Orthodoxy. Finally, long before Nicaea (325) the use of Trinitarian prayers at baptism was already a norm in the emerging Christian communities. Whether *Acta Petri* was recording actual historical events (even in their most veiled form), it does nevertheless mirror pastoral practices, emerging theology, and developing Sacraments in the Early Church.⁵⁰

3. *Nero and Agrippa*

Simon Magus aside, in *Acta Petri* and *Passio* Nero and Agrippa are the two major villains who in varying degrees cooperated with the magician against the apostles, but who also took matters into their

⁴⁸ *consecutus est Petrum Romae deducenem Aristonem in habitationem Narcissi praesbyteri: Acta Petri* 6,12-13, p. 53.

⁴⁹ The promotion of the apostles notably in *Acta Petri* has been noted in all of the Apocryphal Acts by F. Bovon and E. Junod, *Reading the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, in *The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, (ed.) D. R. MacDonald, [Semecia 38], Tucson 1986, pp. 161-171 at 167-168. See also Poupon, *Les 'Actes de Pierre'*, p. 4380.

⁵⁰ J. K. Elliott shares similar views on their historical worth, *The Apocryphal Acts*, p. 74; F. Bovon and E. Junod, *Reading the Apocryphal Acts*, p. 163.

own hands after Simon Magus disappeared from the story.⁵¹ Even though both appear in *Acta Petri* and *Passio*, they did not occupy equal space. *Acta Petri*, for example, had more to say about Agrippa than about Nero, but the *Passio*, paid far more attention to Nero's machinations.

As the *Passio* reached its conclusion leading up to the martyrdom of Peter and Paul, Agrippa enters the scene. On account of losing his 'wife' to Peter's preaching, he recommended to Nero that Peter be crucified and Paul beheaded. Readers were told that Paul received a more respectable execution. The blame by Agrippa was overwhelmingly directed at Peter for upsetting his personal life and that of other Roman aristocrats. Nero praised Agrippa for such a neat solution to the pressing problem of these apostles.⁵² *Acta Petri* portrayed a more complex portrait of Agrippa, who although an enemy of the apostles, at one point exposed Simon Magus as a fraud when the magician feigned to raise a child from the dead.⁵³ As Peter gained popularity and veneration, Agrippa became jealous of the adulation of the apostles.⁵⁴ Once Agrippa vented his wrath upon Peter on account of the converted concubines, the apostle admonished his followers not to be angry with Agrippa.⁵⁵ A clear departure of *Acta Petri* from the *Passio* centered on the execution of the apostles. *Acta Petri* presented Agrippa as completely in charge of the sentence and execution of the apostles. Once the executions were over Nero became angry at Agrippa for what he considered a lenient execution of Peter. The Emperor wanted Peter to suffer more.⁵⁶ In the end, however,

⁵¹ Nero, as villain, was remembered more so than Agrippa in the medieval centuries, see the study by G. Henderson, *The Damnation of Nero, and related themes, in The Vanishing Past. Studies of Medieval Art, Liturgy and Metrology presented to Christopher Hohler*, (ed.) A. Borg & A. Martindale, [British Archaeological Reports International Series 3], Oxford 1981, pp. 39–51. ill.

⁵² *Agrippa dixit: Quoniam Paulus innocens uidetur; Petrus autem homicidii reus est, insuper et inreligiosus. Nero dixit: Ergo quo exemplo peribunt? Agrippa praefectus dixit: Vt mihi uidetur, iustum est Paulo inreligioso caput amputari: Petrum autem eo quod, insuper homicidium perpetraverit, iube eum in cruce leuari. Nero dixit: Optime iudicasti: Passio 58,11–16, p. 169.*

⁵³ *Agrippa autem praefectus tam non tolerans leuauit se, et manibus suis inpegit Simonem. et sic denuo mortuus iacebat sicut ante erat. Acta Petri 28,18–20, p. 76.*

⁵⁴ *praefectus autem uidens tantam multitudinem ad Petrum adtendentem, adnuebat Petro ut discederet: Acta Petri 29,7 and 1, pp. 78–79.*

⁵⁵ *et nunc nolite furere in Agrippa praefecto minister est paternae aenergiae et traditionis illius. hoc autem quod factum est in me dominus meus ante mihi ostendit: Acta Petri 36,2–5, p. 91.*

⁵⁶ *Imperator uero postquam scibit Petrum mortuum, arguit Agrippam praefectum quod sine consilio suo fecisset. uolebat enim Petrum uariis cruciatibus perdere: Acta Petri 41,9–11, p. 101.*

Acta Petri and the *Passio* focused culpability on Peter, which along with the martyrdom enhanced the stature of the apostle.⁵⁷ A major agenda of these apocryphal accounts was to promote the primacy of Peter.

In the *Passio*, Nero more so than Agrippa became a model reprobate in the ensuing centuries, and the *Passio* played no small role in perpetuating that image. Already early in the tradition Lactantius focused on Nero's persecution of the apostles while ignoring Simon Magus. We see this development unfolding further in several early medieval writers such as Gregory of Tours, the *Liber Pontificalis* and Prosper of Aquitaine. Gregory specifically noted that "Peter fought against Nero and Simon Magus".⁵⁸ One of the few glimpses we get in *Passio* about the theological beliefs attributed to Simon Magus occurred when Nero expressed belief that the magician was the "son of God".⁵⁹ Nero was persuaded by Simon Magus to oppose the apostles at the risk of losing his kingdom if he refused to so.⁶⁰ Nero appeared initially to be wholly ignorant about the Christian faith. He asked Peter, for example, what a Nazarene was, who Christ was and so on.⁶¹ Peter directed Nero to a letter from Pontius Pilate to Claudius regarding Christ and his followers. The letter just so happened to be readily available. The content was nothing more than a compendium of the major doctrines of the Church—a Creed as it were—rendered in epistolary form. The letter had no effect on Nero in dissuading him from believing Simon Magus and his false miracles.⁶² In fact, throughout the entire narrative Nero at times

⁵⁷ See on the role of Peter's martyrdom the observations by, G. Dumeige, *Personne ou personnage*, pp. 85–103 and F. Bovon and E. Junod, *Reading the Apocryphal Acts*, pp. 167–168.

⁵⁸ *et primus omnium persecutus dei servos Petrum cruci adfixit, Paulum interfecit*, in *De mortibus persecutorum* 2, in Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*, CSEL 27, p. 175. Gregory in *Historia* I, 25 leveled his attack on Nero while presenting Simon Magus as his helper against the apostles Peter and Paul, see also *Glory of the Martyrs*, 27, p. 45. The *Liber* presented Nero and Simon Magus as Peter's opponents, 1, p. 2. Prosper recorded, *Primus Nero, super omnia scelera sua, etiam persecutionem in Christianos facit, in qua Petrus et Paulus apostoli gloriose Romae occubuerunt*. *Chronicum*, PI, 51, 555.

⁵⁹ *Quod cum uideret Nero, uere hunc esse dei filium aestimabat . . . Tunc ingressus ad Neronem Simon dixit: Audi me, bone imperator. ego sum filius dei, qui de caelo descendi*. *Passio* 14,2–3, and 15,8–9, p. 133.

⁶⁰ *quos constat quia nisi de interitu eorum cogitaueris, regnum tuum stare non poterit*, *Passio* 15,13–14, p. 133.

⁶¹ *Passio* 16, pp. 133–135.

⁶² *Passio* 19–21, pp. 135–139.

doubted Simon Magus but not for very long. He consistently remained obstinate toward Peter and Paul. Once Simon Magus died after his aerial Flight and Fall, Nero in turn charged the apostles with murder. He remained absolutely blind to the power of God, even though it stared him in the face.⁶³ The demise of Nero in *Passio* radically departed from *Acta Petri*. After Peter's death, Nero was warned in a vision by an angel not to persecute the servants of Christ. Filled with fear, Nero obeyed the order. Peter's brethren encouraged by the turn of events remained in one accord and rejoiced in the Lord.⁶⁴ In the *Passio* Nero faced a revolt of such proportions that he was forced to flee into the desert for his life and lost his kingdom. There he died of cold and hunger and became food for 'wild beasts'.⁶⁵ Here the fate of Nero was as tragic as that of Simon Magus. In *Acta Petri*, Simon Magus did not die immediately after the Fall, but later at the hands of the physician Castor.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, Nero, and Simon Magus became major 'types' of the reprobate in the Middle Ages, primarily because of the *Acta Petri* and *Passio*.

4. Apostle Paul

Paul had a place in *Acta Petri* at the beginning but then faded away, giving Peter prominence. Paul is introduced being freed from prison

⁶³ *Tunc Nero dixit ad praefectum suum Agrippam: Homines inreligiosos necesse est male perdere: Passio* 58,6-7, p. 169.

⁶⁴ *et dum hoc cogitat, uidet angelum dei flagellantem se et dicentem sibi: Nero, audi: non poles serbos Christi persequi. abstine ergo manus tuas a seruis meis, minus ne senties si me contempseris. Sic autem Nero timore accepto abstinuit manus suas a discentibus dei et Christi quo termino Petrus accessus est. Pax omnibus fratribus et qui legunt et qui audiunt: Acta Petri* 41,1-7, p. 103

⁶⁵ *Sciat autem hunc Neronem regem pessimum post necem apostolorum regnum tenere non posse . . . Accidit autem post haec ut odium exercitus sui et odium populi Romani incurreret; ita statuerunt ut publice cathomis tamdiu caederetur, quousque ut erat meritis expiraret. quod cum peruenisset ad eum consilium, inruit in eum tremor et metus intolerabilis, et ita fugit ut ulterius non apparuerit. extulerunt autem qui dicerent, in siluis dum erraret fugiens frigore nimio et fame attinguisse et a lupis esse deuoratum: Passio* 64,20-21, and 65,1-7, pp. 173-175.

⁶⁶ *Acta Petri* 32,6-9, p. 85. The *Passio* became the basis of Jacobus of Voragine's version of Peter's contests with Simon Magus see *Jacobi a Voragine Legenda Aurea*, Th. Graesse (ed.), Reprint of 1890 edition, Osnabrück 1969, W. G. Ryan, *The Golden Legend. Readings on the Saints* I, Princeton 1992. It persisted into the late Baroque eras as reflected in some art pieces, see A. Ferreiro, *Simon Magus and Simon Peter in a Baroque altar relief in the Cathedral of Oviedo, Spain*, in *Hagiographica* 5 (1998), pp. 141-158 ill. There is another Baroque relief in Portugal that I plan to study in the near future.

by Quartus, the prison officer, who along with his wife Candida were converted by Paul's teaching.⁶⁷ Paul received a vision in which the Lord called him to go to Spain to strengthen the believers there, a trip mentioned in the 'Epistle to the Romans.' A voice from heaven also informed Paul that he would be perfected through martyrdom at the hands of Nero.⁶⁸ The *Passio* provided the details of that execution. Although *Acta Petri* did not yield details of the execution, it testified to the strong tradition in the second century about his and Peter's martyrdom at Nero's hands in Rome. *Acta Petri* also revealed the pastoral ministry of Paul, who distributed the Eucharist to believers with bread and water. Not a word of objection was made of the use of water rather than wine.⁶⁹ The apostle gave the believers a brief explanation of the fruits or evidences of the Christian life. To encourage them about the Lord's power and grace Paul referred to his own conversion from blasphemer and persecutor to disciple of Christ.⁷⁰ The crowd, nonetheless, wept about his departure. Paul emerged as having aided Peter in the foundation of the Church at Rome, but Peter was to be the one to build it. *Acta Petri*, however, closed with the anticipation of "the coming of Paul to Rome", which is expounded in the *Passio* in great detail and in the *Acts of Paul*.⁷¹

Even though Peter held center stage in the *Passio*, Paul too had a significant role in this latter apocryphal account. The *Passio* placed a great deal of emphasis upon ongoing controversies with Jews regarding the Christian message. Jews and Gentiles attempted to claim one or the other apostle as their own. The *Passio* presented Peter and Paul as being of one accord and not representing either an exclusive Jewish or Gentile Christianity. Paul reminded them, the *Passio* echoing his epistles, that there was neither Jew or Greek, all are one in Christ.⁷² Even so, many Jews still expressed a strong distaste of

⁶⁷ *Candidum, uxorem Quarti a praecclusionibus, audire Paulum et intueri sermonibus illius et credere: Acta Petri* 1,3-5, p. 45.

⁶⁸ *Acta Petri* 1,9-10 and 7 9, pp. 45-46.

⁶⁹ *Opulerunt autem sacrificium Paulo pane et aqua, et oratione facia unusquisque daret. Acta Petri* 2,12-13, p. 46. See also, *Acts of Paul*, on the use of water for Eucharist.

⁷⁰ *tunc blasphemus eram, modo autem blasphemor; tunc eram persecutor, modo ab aliis persecutionem patior; tunc inimicus Christi, modo amicus oro esse: Acta Petri* 2,17-20, p. 47.

⁷¹ *Acta Petri* 40,13-14, p. 100. For further comparisons with the *Acts of Paul* and *Acts of John* see, P. J. Lalleman, *The relation between Acts of John and the Acts of Peter*, and W. Rordorf, *The relation between the Acts of Peter and the Acts of Paul: State of the question*, in *The Apocryphal Acts of Peter*, pp. 161-177 and 178-191 respectively.

⁷² *Passio* 1-7, pp. 119-127.

Peter, but others converted to the faith from his preaching.⁷³ With the two apostles now in full harmony the *Passio* proceeded to the main story, the confrontation with Simon Magus in which Paul was no idle bystander.

As the drama unfolded with Simon Magus in the presence of Nero the apostle Paul delivered a series of speeches in response to the emperor's request for his views. Paul warned Nero that if Simon Magus was left unopposed to deceive people that the emperor and his empire would face irreparable harm. After Nero countered Paul, the apostle a second time warned him about the destruction of his own soul and kingdom if he insisted on protecting Simon Magus. Paul compared Simon Magus to the Egyptian magicians Jamnes and Mambres who led Pharaoh astray and to eventual destruction. Ambrose when describing the magical abilities of Simon Magus likewise compared him to the magicians Jamnes and Mambres in Pharaoh's court.⁷⁴ Anticipating the magician's aerial flight the apostle foretold that Simon Magus would not fly to the heavens, but rather descend to the depths of Hell. Only the pure in heart were able to accept the faith and 'see' with spiritual eyes the true source of Simon Magus's powers, that is the Evil One.⁷⁵

Paul, then, shifted the tone of his rebuke of Nero to emphasize the compassion that motivated his strong words. Paul highlighted his humility, service to others and promotion of love and peace to the emperor.⁷⁶ The *Passio* speech revealed that Paul's preaching was not elicit. He preached to all a message that encouraged love and peace

⁷³ *sed principes Iudaeorum insistebant Passio* 8,4, p. 127.

⁷⁴ *Huius tu uerba si uolueris audire uel fouere eum, perdes animam tuam et imperium tuum. hic enim homo pessimus est, et sicut Aegyptii magi Iamnes et Mambres qui Pharaonem et exercitum eius miserunt in errorem: Passio* 34,10-13, p. 149, Ambrose, *In epistolam ad Romanos* 8, PL 17,136-137. Maximus of Turin later mentioned Jamnes and Mambres but instead compared them to Paul opposing Simon Magus before the proconsul Sergius Paulus, not Nero, *Nam primum utique Iamnes et Mambres magi, cum Mosi signis prodigiisque resisterent, ecclesiam subuertere cupiebant; sed sacris uodibus ueneficorum carmen nocere non potuit. Nihil enim incantatores ualent, ubi Christi canticum dechantur. Deinde cum apud Sergium Paulum proconsulem Simon magus Paulum apostolum obpugnaret: Sermo* 31,3, in *Maximi episcopi Turinensis. Sermones*, CCL 23, (ed.) A. Mutzenbecher, Turnholi 1962, pp. 121-123.

⁷⁵ *nam quantum se exaltari putat ad caelos, tantum demergetur in infernis inferioribus, ubi est fletus et stridor dentium: Passio* 35,20-22, p. 149. The apostles made it clear to Nero who exposed Simon Magus, *Petrus et Paulus dixerunt: Non enim nos eum detegimus, sed dominus noster Iesus Christus, filius dei, quem hic se ipsum esse mentitus est: Passio* 51,13-15, p. 163.

⁷⁶ *Passio* 36, p. 151.

and above all social harmony. In the spirit of the New Testament, specifically Acts of the Apostles, Paul was shown in the *Passio* as someone not upsetting the social order. Paul's speech in the *Passio* drew heavily from the Pauline epistles. The apostle warned the rich and powerful not to trust in riches, the middle class to be content with food and clothing, and the poor to rejoice in their poverty. To families he encouraged fathers to lead children to fear of the Lord, children to obey their parents, wives to love their husbands and fear them as masters, husbands to be faithful to their wives, masters to show clemency to slaves and slaves faithfulness to masters. Finally, all churches were to revere one almighty, invisible, and incomprehensible God. Paul closed by proclaiming that his teachings were not from men but from Jesus who spoke to him from heaven and called him to preach.⁷⁷ The *Passio* made it abundantly clear that whatever persecution Paul—for that matter Peter too—received from Nero it was not because they were a danger to society or Empire. In the overall story Nero's persecution was unfair, unwarranted, and unfounded. It was the result of obdurate unbelief on Nero's part, a latter day Pharaoh.

The second major speech by Paul brought to the surface once again the Jewish question. Simon Magus called the apostles "circumcised knaves" playing on Nero's hatred of Jews.⁷⁸ Paul admitted proudly his circumcision of the flesh, but added that his heart also had been circumcised by the Lord. Peter intervened and asked Simon Magus why he had been circumcised if he held such a practice with disdain.⁷⁹ Recall that Simon Magus was a Samaritan according to both canonical and apocryphal traditions. Simon maneuvered his way out of this as he explained to Nero that he was circumcised before he received the new revelation. In this way Simon remained under the good graces of the anti-Semitic Nero.⁸⁰

In sum, these are the major speeches which Paul gave to Nero in answer to the emperor's queries. What was of paramount importance to the *Passio* writer was that Peter and Paul were in full

⁷⁷ *Passio* 37–38, pp. 151–153.

⁷⁸ *Simon dixit: Sacratissime imperator, noli istis credere, quia hi sunt qui circumciduntur et circumcidunt: Passio* 42,2–4, p. 157.

⁷⁹ *Petrus dixit: Si mala est circumcisio, tu quare circumcisis es?: Passio* 42,7–8, p. 157.

⁸⁰ *Simon dixit: Ideo quia a deo praecepta est circumcisio illo tempore quo ego eam suscep-*
Passio 44,2–3, p. 159.

harmony in their opposition to Simon Magus and all of his following, including Nero.⁸¹ Paul was with Peter in the famous Flight and Fall of Simon Magus but his role was one of support as he ceded authority and place to Peter.⁸² What is also striking about Paul in the *Passio* in comparison to Peter is that not a single miracle was attributed directly to him, unlike Peter to whom we now direct our attention.

5. *Simon Peter*

The central place of Peter in *Acta Petri* and the *Passio* is a well known theme. What I wish to accomplish here is to delineate how Simon Peter was presented in both narratives so as to appreciate, among other things, the emergence of the primacy of Peter as we move from *Acta Petri* and the *Passio* representing an unfolding tradition of this apostle and his authority in the western Church.

After having spent twelve years in Jerusalem Peter was ready to move on to Rome to have a showdown with Simon Magus. A vision from Christ reminded Peter of his previous encounter with Simon Magus as found in Acts of the Apostles. This reference provided the necessary connection between the canonical and apocryphal narratives.⁸³ Furthermore, it left the impression that *Acta Petri* was now filling an addendum which Acts of the Apostles did not provide. As Peter prepared for his confrontation with Simon Magus he fasted, shared Eucharist with Theon, and used the Virgin Birth through Mary to defend the Incarnation.⁸⁴ The apostle, so as not to draw attention to himself, recalled his faltering faith when he walked on water, his denials of Christ, and tears of repentance. Peter emerged as a paragon of repentance who fell from grace but was redeemed

⁸¹ *Petrus et Paulus dixerunt: Numquam tibi bene sit, Simon mage et amaritudinibus plene: Passio* 48,10–11, p. 161.

⁸² For the Flight in the Church Fathers see A. Ferreira, *The Fall of Simon Magus in Early Christian Commentary*, in *Tempus Implendi Promissa. Homenaje al Prof. D. Domingo Ramos-Lissón*, Pamplona 2000, pp. 171–185.

⁸³ *Christus ostendit illi visionem talem, dicens ei: Petre, quem tu execisti de Iudea adprobatum magum Simonem, iterum praeoccupavit uos Romae: Acta Petri* 5,23–26, p. 49. A useful yet somewhat overplayed comparison of the canonical and apocryphal Peter is in P. Herczeg, *Theios aner traits in the apocryphal Acts of Peter*, in *The Apocryphal Acts of Peter*, pp. 29–38 at 32–35.

⁸⁴ *aut cuius rei per uirginem Mariam protulit: Acta Petri* 7,22–23, p. 53.

by the pure grace of God.⁸⁵ Having heard this, the crowd repented of their sins—for following Simon Magus—and they rejected the magician's claim to be the 'Power of God'. In a final jab at Simon Magus in this opening scene, Peter placed Simon Magus in line with notable reprobates: Judas, Herod, Pharaoh, and Caiphas. The *Acta Petri* also compared Simon Magus to Ananias and Sapphira.⁸⁶

In the next section Peter in his priestly and pastoral role instructed the new converts. Marcellus fell at his feet, begged for Peter's forgiveness, and asked for his intercession with God. Peter accepted the confession and interceded on his behalf with Christ.⁸⁷ This episode in *Acta Petri* reveals that in the second century the priestly role of confessor as conduit of God's forgiving grace emerged quite early. Peter called upon the crowd to fast and pray for him. He even brought a dead tummy fish to life to encourage their faith, an allusion to miracles of Jesus involving fish.⁸⁸ The apostle, then, received a vision of Jesus in which he was told that he would prevail in exposing Simon Magus, but not without persecution.⁸⁹

Acta Petri contains a speech by Peter which seemed to be directed against a variety of Gnostic heresies flourishing in the second-century, even though they were not identified by name. Peter defended the reliability of the Scriptures by explaining how they were written by him and others who were close to Jesus or close to those who knew Jesus firsthand.⁹⁰ We know that questions over the canon intensified

⁸⁵ *Et super aquas ambulavi cuius testis ipse ego permaneo: Acta Petri* 7,29–30, p. 53.

⁸⁶ *Paenitentes autem fratres rogabant Petrum, ut expugnaret Simonem, qui se dicebat dei uirtutem esse . . . tu Iudam condiscipulum et coapostolum meum coëgisti impiæ agere, ut traderet dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, qui de te poenas exigit necesse est. tu Herodis cor indurasti et Pharaonem inflammasti et coëgisti pugnare contra sanctum seruum dei Moysen, tu Caipe audaciam: Acta Petri*, 8,31–32,30–32, and 1 3, pp. 54–56. See the essay by I. Czachesz, *Who is deviant? Entering the story-world of the Acts of Peter*, in *The Apocryphal Acts of Peter*, pp. 84–96 at 93–94.

⁸⁷ *Acta Petri* 10,14–25, p. 57.

⁸⁸ *Acta Petri* 13, pp. 60–61.

⁸⁹ *ego enim me tibi praestabo petenti te signa et prodigia, et conuerteres multos sed habebis contrarium Simonem per opera patris sui. sed omnia eius adprobabuntur carmina et magica figmenta. nunc autem noli cessare, et quoscumque tibi misero in nomine meo, funduuiis. Acta Petri* 16,26–30, p. 62.

⁹⁰ *Petrus in triclinio et uadit euangelium legi. inuolues eum dixit: Viri, qui in Christo creditis et speratis, scitote, qualiter debeat sancta scriptura domini nostri pronuntiar. quae gratia ipsius quod coepimus, scribimus, etsi adhuc uobis infirma uidentur, capaciter tamen quae perferuntur in humana carne inferre: Acta Petri* 20,29–30 and 1–4, pp. 66–67. Peter's speeches are a defense of orthodoxy as is true of his role in Pseudo-Clement, see V. K. P. Rigby, *Simon Magus: History versus Tradition*, pp. 241–253, at 247–248.

as Marcionites and Gnostic sects proposed their own canon of the New Testament. *Acta Petri* did not draw up a list, but drawing as it did from the New Testament, as we know it now, the writer of *Acta Petri* seemed to be in accord with the emerging Catholic consensus as represented by the likes of Irenaeus of Lyons among others. Peter, then, discussed the limits and ability of human flesh to contain God's revealed truth. He used as an example the Transfiguration to show that Jesus made himself accessible to the human mind and spirit.⁹¹ He closed this dialogue with a long list of titles for Jesus derived from the emerging canon of New Testament scripture. Again it provided further evidence on which writings the *Acta Petri* author(s) considered canonical.⁹² There is another indirect Gnostic rebuff in the exchange between Simon Magus and Peter regarding Christ. Simon refuted Peter by asking, 'is God born' or 'is he crucified', of course expressing the magician's denial of Jesus's incarnation and his physical death on the cross. A study by L. H. Westra has found in the *Acta Petri* a 'Creed' or *regulae fidei* within the narrative which testifies to its 'catholicity' [pre-Nicene] over and against other sects. Peter was unmoved. Instead, he challenged Simon Magus to use his magic. Next there was a series of short lived feigned miracles: lame and blind temporarily 'healed', the already mentioned fake resurrection, and the well known Flight and Fall of Simon Magus.⁹³

We arrive now to the end of Peter's earthly life. The '*Quo Vadis?*' incident was the crowning event that established two things: the intimate relationship between Jesus and Peter and the triumph of Peter which promoted Petrine primacy. Peter, like Christ, expressed forgiveness for Agrippa and he encouraged his followers to do likewise reminding them that the Lord had willed his crucifixion. Just as Jesus

⁹¹ *Acta Petri* 20,11-15, p. 67.

⁹² *Iesum habetis, fratres, ianuam, lumen, uiam, panem, aquam, uitam, resurrectionem, refrigerium, margaritam, thesaurum, semen, saturitatem, granum sinapis, uneam, aratrum, gratiam, fidem, uerbum: hic est omnia et non est alius maior nisi ipse: ipsi laus in omnia saecula saeculorum. amen: Acta Petri* 20,11-15, p. 68. Monika Desthy in order to read Gnostic tendencies downplays the distinction between Peter and Christ in the *Acts of Peter*. In my reading of the text her analysis is rather strained in, *Cross and death in the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, in *The Apocryphal Acts of Peter*, pp. 123-133.

⁹³ *Acta Petri* 23,26-29, p. 71. L. H. Westra, *Regulae fidei and other credal formulations in the Acts of Peter*, in *The Apocryphal Acts of Peter*, pp. 134-147. For a comparison of the Flight and Fall of Simon Magus in the *Acta Petri* and the *Passio* see my *Simon Magus and Simon Peter in a Baroque altar relief in the Cathedral of Oviedo, Spain*, pp. 141-158, ill.

had chastised Peter for attempting to thwart the crucifixion, Peter in *Acta Petri* did the same with his followers.⁹⁴ After his inverted crucifixion Peter was escorted to heaven by angels and *Acta Petri* closed with a Trinitarian confession.

In the *Passio*, Peter occupied prime of place even though Paul was present with him every step of the way. We have already established above how the *Passio* made it abundantly clear that no disagreement existed between Peter and Paul. Both were in common cause in their opposition to Simon Magus who symbolically represented the enemies of the Church. In this section I want to narrow my remarks to the major speeches that Peter delivered in the *Passio*.

The first major speech by Peter in the *Passio* was directed at certain Jews who opposed him. He reminded his detractors that Christ was the fulfillment of all that the Old Testament anticipated in salvation history. The apostle recalled the earthly genealogy of Jesus from David—the tree of Jesse, the covenant of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and his priestly lineage from the High Priest Melchizedek. Peter pointed out that most, that being Jews, accepted Jesus as the Messiah.⁹⁵ To lend greater credibility to his authority Peter performed numerous miracles. The blind and rich were healed, demons were expelled, the dead were raised to life, thus he exposed Simon Magus's errors. Simon Magus and his followers unable to dispute the obvious miracles accused Peter of being a magician. Peter retorted by denouncing the magician for calling himself the 'Christ' or 'Messiah'.⁹⁶ On the miracles, let us keep in mind that Paul by contrast did not perform any at all. Peter's primacy over Paul was dramatically emphasized in the *Passio* by highlighting the special dispensations Peter received from God. Moreover, Peter's miracles were not another fangled form of 'magic'. This was not a contest between two magicians. It was rather a struggle between light and darkness, truth and error, and ultimately God and the Devil.⁹⁷ The

⁹⁴ *Acta Petri* 36, pp. 88–90. See on Peter's crucifixion, J. Bolyki, *Head downward: The cross of Peter in the light of the Apocryphal Acts of the New Testament and of the society transforming claim of Early Christianity*, in *The Apocryphal Acts of Peter*, pp. 111–122 and M. Desthy, *Cross and death*, in *The Apocryphal Acts of Peter*, pp. 123–133.

⁹⁵ *Passio* 5–10, pp. 122–129.

⁹⁶ *Contra haec Petrus in infirmos curabat uerbo, caecos uidere faciebat orando, daemonia iussu fugabat, interea et ipsos mortuos suscitabat: Passio* 12,6–8, and Chapter 13, p. 131.

⁹⁷ See G. Poupon, *L'accusation de Magie dans les Actes Apocryphes*, in *Les Actes Apocryphes des Apôtres*, pp. 71–93, at 77. D. R. Cartledge, *Transfigurations of metamorphosis traditions*.

very nature of Peter's miracles were markedly different from those of Simon Magus. We witness the magician causing brazen serpents to move, statues to move and laugh, and levitations. He also transmuted his appearance in front of Nero from a child to old man and to a young man.⁹⁸ Simon also magically conjured up ravenous dogs to attack Peter. He also made the claim that he died and was resurrected by his own power. Simon's attempts to raise others from the dead were chockfull of manipulation, and deceptive maneuvers much like a poker shark. In short, there was nothing miraculous about them lacking any lasting results. What is striking about Peter is that he never performed a parallel miracle comparable to moving statues, dogs, levitations, transmutation of self, or even his own death and resurrection. The only false miracle that Peter answered is the feigned resurrection of others by Simon Magus. Peter countered by performing bona fide resurrections. The message could not be any clearer: the true life giving God worked only through Peter while Simon Magus represented the Evil One, who was an agent of death incapable of granting temporal or eternal life to anyone.⁹⁹ When Simon Magus did perform a miraculous deed such as the dogs and his aerial flight the *Passio* made it clear that these were manifestations of demonic forces and not the deeds of the Holy Spirit.¹⁰⁰ The *Passio* effectively underscored once again that Peter was a holy man (thaumaturge) of God while Simon Magus was a magician who did the bidding of the Devil. The wider implication in the tradition was that those who remained in the bosom of the Mother Church through Peter specifically and the apostles and their successors were the true source of God's grace and power. Those who rejected Mother Church, the apostles, and specifically Peter were aligning themselves with Simon Magus and his fallen successors.¹⁰¹

in the Acts of John, Thomas, and Peter, in *The Apocryphal Acts of Apostles*, pp. 53–66, at 62, although addressing *Acta Petri*, are relevant to the *Passio* as well.

⁹⁸ *Qua ingressus coepit stare ante illum et subito mutare effigies, ita ut fieret subito puer et posthaec senior, altera uero hora adolefcentior. mutabatur sexu, aetate, ei per mulieris figuram diaboli ministerio bachabantur. quod cum videret Nero, uere hunc esse dei filium aestimabat: Passio 14,16–17 and 1–3, pp. 131–133.*

⁹⁹ *Acta Petri* echoed that Simon Magus's miracles were the work of the devil, the father of lies and deception, *Simonem per opera patris sui*, 16,28, p. 62.

¹⁰⁰ *Et aspiciens contra Simonem Petrus dixit. Aduro uos, angeli Satanae, qui eum in aera fertis. Passio*, 56,5–6, p. 167.

¹⁰¹ On this succession see my earlier articles, *Jerome's polemic against Priscillian in his Letter to Ctesiphon (133,4)*, in *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 39/2 (1993), pp. 309–332.

The second lengthy discourse by Peter was targeted at Simon Magus and the Emperor Nero. To convince Nero that Jesus was not some mythical figure and to confound Simon's claim to be the Messiah, he produced a letter, which we mentioned earlier, from Pontius Pilate to the Emperor Claudius. The letter of course, was an apologia for the Christian faith. This portion of the *Passio* is a defense of the Christian faith directed at those in the fifth century still opposing or questioning the emerging orthodoxy of the Church.¹⁰² Peter next engaged in a defense of Paul to convince Nero of the apostle's veracity. Peter revisited Paul's persecution of Christians, the voice of Christ from heaven which led to his conversion. Peter emphasized that Paul persecuted out of ignorance, not hatred, in his zeal to defend the Law.¹⁰³ Peter reminded the Emperor that he really had no power over them; that God alone was in full control of their fate. This statement recalled the words of Christ to Pilate that he had no authority except that which God allowed.¹⁰⁴ In both cases, Peter as model martyr and Christ as Savior died to advance the salvific plan of God in history.¹⁰⁵ The parallel drawn here was one other way the *Passio* promoted the primacy of Peter over all of the apostles, but as an act of pure grace from God.

and *Simon Magus and Priscillian in the Commonitorium of Vincent of Lérins*, in *Vigiliae Christianae* 49/2 (1995), pp. 180–188. The position by Gerard Luttikhuisen that the text, “does not end with the final exposure of Simon as a dangerous deceiver”, is difficult to sustain. The total failure and repudiation of Simon Magus is emphatic in both the *Acts of Peter* and the *Passio*, *Simon Magus as a narrative figure in the Acts of Peter*, in *The Apocryphal Acts of Peter*, pp. 39–51 at 51.

¹⁰² *Passio* 18–21, pp. 135–139.

¹⁰³ *Passio* 39, pp. 153–155.

¹⁰⁴ *Nero dixit: Suspecto animo me esse fecistis, ideoque uos malo exemplo perdam. Petrus dixit: Non quae tu uis, sed quod promissum est nobis, necesse est consummari: Passio* 57,2–5, p. 169. Cross reference with *Io* 19:8–11. Jesus' words in *Io* 21:18–19 was a prediction of Peter's own death. Textual influences on Peter's crucifixion as *Imitatio Christi* are identified by B. McNeil, *A liturgical source*, p. 342. The fulfillment of *Acta Petri* of that announced in the New Testament is noted by F. Bovon, *La vie des apôtres. Tradition bibliques et narrations apocryphes*, in *Les Actes Apocryphes des Apôtres*, pp. 141–157.

¹⁰⁵ Bovon and Junod state that the apostles' activities—speaking, acting, and dying embody their *Imitatio Christi*, as such they are apostolic heroes, *Reading the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, pp. 167–168. For the symbolism see M. Desthy, *Cross and death*, in *The Apocryphal Acts of Peter*, pp. 123–133.

6. *Conclusion*

The *Acta Petri* and the *Passio* over the centuries conveyed powerful messages which reflect the spirituality and pastoral practices of the Church. This is especially true of the *Passio*, which gained great influence owing to its attachment to the Feast of Peter and Paul on 29 June. The appearance of the *Passio* in art in the medieval centuries, in hundreds of homilies, and in the ever popular *Golden Legend* of Jacobus of Voragine confirms this point. *Acta Petri*, however, became a marginalized and ignored document because of the trend in the medieval Church to move away from that literature called New Testament Apocrypha. Still apocryphal writings from this corpus penetrated deeply and widely into the Church particularly at the popular level. More specifically, the *Acta Petri* wielded its influence in the medieval centuries principally through the version which is contained in the *Passio*.

Although the women, more so in *Acta Petri* where they are abundant, were paragons of virginity and asceticism they were not to be seen, as some have done today, as upsetting the socio-sexuality roles of the day. Men were enjoined the same message as women: fidelity in marriage, rejection of concubinage, and chastity outside of matrimony. Virginity was always promoted as the higher road of service to Christ. Moreover, the illegitimate marriage arrangement concubines lived under made it no marriage at all. That is why they were free to leave if the husbands were unyielding in giving up the concubines. Collectively, women and men served the greater purpose of receiving and manifesting the power of the true God through his servants Peter and Paul. They were examples of God's saving grace as he rescued them from the deceptive wiles of Simon Magus and set them on the road to salvation through the apostles.

Nero and Agrippa in varying degrees occupy a significant place in *Acta Petri* and *Passio*. Their unfolding relationship with Simon Magus and the apostles provided an effective contrast between those who repented—the women and men elsewhere—and those who did not. Nero and Agrippa were so driven by power and lust that they could not break away from the deception of Simon Magus no matter how many times Simon Peter superseded him with miraculous deeds. Nero, as noted, entered into the Christian tradition as a dubious model reprobate with Judas and Simon Magus.

The manner in which Peter and Paul were depicted in *Acta Petri* and *Passio*, particularly because of their influence on Roman claims

to primacy through Peter, was especially important from the fifth century onward. Peter was at center stage in *Acta Petri*, in light of the near absence of Paul. Whereas in the *Passio* Paul did have greater visibility he was still consistently portrayed in the shadows of Peter. The fact that not a single miracle was attributed to Paul, unlike Peter who performed numerous, signals the primacy that resided in Peter. At the height of the confrontation with Simon Magus during his aerial flight in *Acta Petri* where Peter acted alone—and the *Passio* where Paul was with him, it was Peter who brought the magician down. Paul backed Peter with prayer. That was precisely the point of *Passio*: Paul supported while Peter took the lead. *Acta Petri* and *Passio* coupled with many other theological and historical developments played a key role in the emerging primacy of Peter strongly promoted by the bishops of Rome, his successors.

The *Liber Pontificalis*, as one might expect, gave Peter the credit for gathering the flock which Simon Magus sought to disperse. Gregory of Tours in *Glory of the Martyrs* related that Peter was appointed bishop by the apostles and that he founded the See at Rome. The emphasis on Peter's primacy is clear from these sources reflecting a convergence of many traditions which includes, of course, the *Acta Petri* and *Passio*.¹⁰⁶ The abundant artistic and literary images and references to Peter opposing Simon Magus and his inverted crucifixion speak for themselves. Scholars have much work to do to evaluate and appreciate the rich and profound influence which *Acta Petri* and *Passio* and apocryphal literature in general have had in shaping Christianity specifically in its Roman Catholic and Orthodox forms.

¹⁰⁶ The provenance of *Acta Petri* and *Acta Pauli* from Rome—to which I would add the *Passio*—is duly noted by F. Bovon, *La vie des apôtres*, p. 151. Also, Dumeige, *Personne ou personnage*, pp. 91-92. *The Book of Pontiffs I: Liber Pontificalis*, (trans.) R. Davis, [Translated Texts for Historians. Latin Series 5], Liverpool 1989, p. 2. And Gregory of Tours, *Glory of the Martyrs*, 27, p. 45. The promotion of Peter in the *Acts of Peter* is noted by M. Misset-van de Weg, *For the Lord always takes care of His own. The purpose of the wondrous works and deeds in Acts of Peter*, in *The Apocryphal Acts of Peter*, pp. 97-110.

CHAPTER FIVE

JEROME'S POLEMIC AGAINST PRISCILLIAN IN HIS LETTER TO CTESIPHON (133, 4)*

In the fourth-century Priscillianism was the major heretical group in the Iberian Peninsula widely accused of embodying the teachings of the Gnostics and Manichaeans.¹ Priscillian's asceticism and oratory skills won him many admirers and numerous opponents. The Priscillianist controversy ended tragically with his execution at the hands of the Emperor in 385/86.²

Priscillian's opponents consistently charged him of both moral and doctrinal lapses. One of his critics was none other than Jerome who joined the concerted effort to extirpate the Priscillianists. The principal focus of this article is a letter that Jerome wrote to Ctesiphon, approximately in 415, or about three decades after Priscillian's execution. The letter in general has received limited commentary from

* I wish to thank Professors Jeffrey B. Russell, Glenn Olsen, and the editors at the Institut d'Études Augustiniennes for their useful and constructive critique of earlier versions of this paper.

¹ A few examples are: Augustine, *De haeresibus* 70, *CCSL* 46. *Aurelii Augustini Opera*, Pars XIII, 2, p. 333. Prosper of Aquitaine, *Chronicon integrum pars secunda*, *MGH AA IX*, pp. 460 and 462; Sulpicius Severus, *Chron.* II, 46, *CSEL* 1, pp. 99–100; Finally, Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum VIII, De haeresibus Christianorum*, 8, 5.54 in *San Isidoro de Sevilla. Etimologías*. vol. 1 (Libros 1–X), edición bilingüe, (ed. J. Oroz Reta, et al.), *Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos*, 433. Madrid, 1982, pp. 698–701. [Hereafter *San Isidoro de Sevilla*]. Noteworthy is Filastrius of Brescia, who alluded to the Priscillianists without referring to them specifically by name: *Diversarum hereseon liber*, 84, *CCSL* 9, pp. 253–254.

² On the execution, W. H. C. Frend observed, "for the first time, a Christian had been condemned to death on what appeared to be a religious issue", in *The Rise of Christianity*, Philadelphia, Fortress, 1984, p. 713; For Priscillian in general consult the groundbreaking study by H. Chadwick, *Priscillian of Avila. The Occult and the charismatic in the early church*, Oxford 1976; An enlightening recent study is by R. Van Dam, "The heresy of Priscillian", chapter 5 in his book *Leadership and Community in Late Antique Gaul*, "The Transformation of the Classical Heritage, 8", Berkeley, University of California Press, 1985, pp. 88–114. For the most complete bibliography on Priscillian up to 1984 see A. Ferreiro, *The Visigoths in Gaul and Spain A.D. 418–711: A Bibliography*, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1988, pp. 197–203, and J. E. López Pereira, "Prisciliano de Avila y el Priscilianismo desde el siglo IV a nuestros días: Rutas bibliográficas", *Cuadernos Abulenses* 3 (1985), pp. 13–77.

modern researchers who oftentimes repeat in uncritical fashion what Jerome says about the moral and doctrinal errors of Priscillian.³ Given Jerome's polemical style and tempestuous attitude are we wise to dismiss any possibility of exaggeration on his part? The letter, as a polemical document, indulges in a typological attack of Priscillianism, and as such raises questions about how accurately he portrays the sect. As David S. Wiesen reminds us about Jerome's literary style, "St. Jerome was uniquely suited by his learning as well as by his temperament to combine the inherited body of pagan satire with a new and vigorous Christian satiric spirit into a literary attack on the vices of society and of personal enemies".⁴

Jerome's attitude towards Priscillianists shifted from an ambiguous stance in his *De viris inlustribus* which goes up to the year 393, to one of definite rejection in his *Letter* to Ctesiphon, written around 415. In the former work Jerome refused to outright condemn Priscillian nor even to link him to Gnosticism.⁵ In the letter to Ctesiphon, as this study will confirm, Jerome linked Priscillianists not only to Gnosticism, but much more besides. I am not convinced that Jerome's

³ For critical discussions of the letter see M. J. Rondeau, "D'une Edition des 'Lettres' de Saint Jérôme", *Revue des Études Latines* 42 (1964), pp. 166–184, especially pp. 180–181. P. Devos, "La date du voyage d'Égérie", *Analecta Bollandiana* 85 (1967), pp. 165–184, especially pp. 180–182; H. Chadwick, *Priscillian of Avila*, pp. 37–38; V. Burrus, *The making of a heresy. Authority, gender and the Priscillianist controversy*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, July 1991, II–262 p., especially pp. 207–211. The author's treatment of the letter is couched within the broader goal of expounding the feminist issues surrounding the controversy with Priscillian. Also the preliminary foundation article by A. Ferreiro, "Sexual Depravity, Doctrinal Error, and Character Assassination in the Fourth Century: Jerome against the Priscillianists", *Studia Patristica* 28 (1993), pp. 29–38. Due to constraints imposed by the publisher I only focused upon the figures of Simon Magus and Nicolas of Antioch, which are undoubtedly to be viewed as foundational for the remainder of Jerome's exegesis in section four of the *Letter* to Ctesiphon. For the Latin edition consult *Epistula* 133.4, *CSEL* 56, pp. 247–248. In regard to Ctesiphon, J. N. D. Kelly observed: "We have no certain clue to Ctesiphon's identity, but Jerome's jibes at his 'religious illustrious house' where the 'heretic' holds forth, and at people who supply him with money, suggest that he was one of Pelagius's wealthy lay supporters (*Jerome: His life, writings and controversies*, New York: Harper and Row, 1975, p. 314). The author does not address Jerome's commentary on Priscillian at all in this work.

⁴ *St. Jerome as a Satirist: a study of Christian thought and letters*, Cornell University Press, 1964, pp. 6–7.

⁵ *De viris inlustribus*, 121, in *Hieronymi: De viris inlustribus* (ed. W. Herding) *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana* Leipzig, 1879, p. 162 = *PL* 23, c. 750. See D. G. Hunter, "Resistance to the Virginal Ideal in Late Fourth-Century Rome: The Case of Jovinian", *Theological Studies* 48 (1987), pp. 56–60, especially at 57.

change of mind was based on a better understanding of Priscillianism. It seems more plausible that Jerome joined at that latter date an already pervasive condemnation of Priscillian by the Church at large.

Jerome primarily discussed Pelagianism, not Priscillian, in the letter to Ctesiphon, and his remarks need to be considered within that broader dialogue. While Jerome refuted Pelagianism he directed Ctesiphon's attention to Priscillianism as an example of a sect that has likewise lapsed morally and doctrinally. Presumably whatever Jerome attributed to the Priscillianists he impugned upon the Pelagians as well.⁶ Jerome's attack upon the moral/doctrinal errors of Priscillian revolved heavily on the 'types' of men and women that not only characterize the sect but all heretics in general. The typological heretical men and women Jerome associated with Priscillian represent the many 'faces' of heresy that Ctesiphon is warned to avoid.

Jerome focused his attack on Priscillianist women by interweaving key passages from Scripture. What emerges from his biblical exegesis is a devastating typological attack upon women. He singled out women led astray by Priscillian, and by all previous male heresiarchs. The first of the scriptural references is a combination of *Ephesians* 4:14 and 2 *Timothy* 3:6-7 wherein emerges the image of weak women led astray by false male teachers. David Wiesen, however, reminds us that Jerome did not have only one view of women, anymore than he did of men.⁷ Jerome's combined passages read: "silly women burdened with sins, carried about with every wind of doctrine, ever learning and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth".⁸ The women that Jerome paraded in the letter embody all of the characteristics and behavior unacceptable to the orthodox. They are arrogant and presumptuous women illegitimately seeking to abrogate the power of the Holy Spirit.

⁶ V. Burrus, *Making of a heresy*, pp. 185-253.

⁷ *Ephesians* 4:14 refers to "men" in non-gender specific fashion. Women are not singled-out as the main perpetrators of false doctrine. 2 *Timothy* 3. 6-7 focuses upon "weakwilled" women, yet these passages are within a broader context. The verses preceding and following address males and females engaged in spiritual and carnal depravity. The section begins with the all inclusive "people", but it is men who violate, control, sway, and lead women astray. Once again, D. S. Wiesen notes that Jerome's most loyal supporters were women (*Jerome as a Satirist*, p. 164).

⁸ "Quid uolunt miserae mulierculae oneratae peccatis, quae circumferuntur omnino uento doctrinae, semper discentes et nunquam ad scientiam ueritatis peruenientes", *Ep.* 133.4, *CSEL* 56, p. 247.

Jerome continued with a paraphrase of 2 *Timothy* 4:3, which he rephrased now to shift the focus upon 'vulnerable men' deceived by heretical women primarily because they are "men with itching ears who know neither how to hear nor how to speak".⁹ As in the case of women Jerome only singled out men lured into spiritual deception. The male heretics represent individuals whose pride leads them to abuse the Word of God and lure spiritually weak people. All of them are tools of the Evil One intent on destroying the flock of God.

Jerome's biblical exegesis includes a reference from the Old Testament prophet *Ezekiel* 13:10–16.17. False prophets consciously mix old mire with a new form of [weak] cement to foster and white-wash falsehood. The passages in *Ezekiel* speak prophetically of a cleansing that God will send in the form of 'overflowing showers'; one that will tear down the edifice of falsehood. Jerome perceives his role, so it seems, as the prophet of God's cleansing power to bring down all of the errors brought together by Priscillian.¹⁰

Jerome closed the section on Priscillian with two scriptural references from the New and the Old Testaments, respectively. He quotes 2 *Thessalonians* 2:7 focusing on the warning 'Now also the mystery of iniquity is working'¹¹ alerting his readers that Satan and heretical teachers were alive and well in his own day as they had been in apostolic times. Here Jerome laid the culpability for spiritual error evenly at both men and women. Jerome, with prophetic condemnation, concluded with an admonition and quote from *Jeremiah* 17:11. In his own words:

Men and women in turn "lay snares for each other till we cannot but recall the prophet's words the partridge has cried aloud, she has gathered her young which she had not brought forth, she unrightfully gets riches; in the midst of her days she shall forsake them, and in the end she shall be a fool"¹²

⁹ "Et ceteri muliercularum socii, prurientes auribus et ignorantes quid audiant, quid loquantur, qui uetustissimum caenum, quasi nouam suscipiunt temperaturam", *Ep.* 133.4, *CSEL* 56, p. 247. Scripture refers to men in gender free fashion, and Jerome departs from this sense to chastise specifically males. The 'hearing' and 'speaking' Jerome mentions was intended to convey the inability of heretics to hear the voice of Christ (See the *Gospel of John* 10:4–5). Heretics do not hear the voice of Christ, neither do they speak his truth.

¹⁰ *Ep.* 133.4, *CSEL* 56, p. 247.

¹¹ "Nunc quoque mysterium iniquitatis operatur", *Ep.* 133.4, *CSEL* 56, p. 248.

¹² "Duplex sexus utrumque supplantat, ut illud propheticum cogamur adsumere: clamauit perdix, congregauit quae non peperit, faciens diuitias suas non cum iudicio. in dimidio dierum derelinquit cum, et nouissimum eius erit insipiens", *Ep.* 133.4, *CSEL* 56, p. 248.

Succinctly heretics are spiritually barren, abandoned, and in the end fools. The reference to Jeremiah served well his purpose to establish the deviancy of Priscillian and his followers, whom he charged of:

- (a) Spiritual kidnapping—'quae non peperit'
- (b) Illegitimate riches—'faciens divitias suas, non cum iudicio'
- (c) Not true devotion—'In dimidio dierum derelinquet eas'
[Unlike Christ who promised never to abandon his sheep, *John* 10:11–15].
- (d) Their fate is foolishness—'et novissimum ejus erit insipiens'

The scriptural references cited by Jerome set the tone for the remainder of the letter. The cardinal focus of Jerome's polemic against Priscillianism is the material couched between these scriptural references. Let us now turn our attention to the heart of Jerome's arguments, which he expounded in the form of a heresiarchal list.

It is well known that some Church Fathers compiled lists of heretics intended for circulation in the Church.¹³ I intend to investigate: Why Jerome singled out only a select few of the heretics for his own list? Of the heretics Jerome includes what deeper spiritual meaning do they signify, if at all, other than face value identification by the reader? Lastly, how does each sect correspond to the actual charges against Priscillian as found in the major sources other than Jerome? From Jerome's letter the following list of heretical men and women with accompanying accusations emerges:

Male	Female	Accusation
Simon Magus	Helena	A sect
Nicolas of Antioch	Bands of Women	uncleanness
Marcion	a woman (unidentified)	mindsnares
Apelles	Philumena	false doctrine

¹³ These are the major heresiarchal lists that I will make reference to in this study, along with a variety of other relevant sources: Irenaeus of Lyons, *Contre les hérésies*, Livre 1.2 (ed. A. Rousseau), *Sources Chrétiennes* (= SC), 264, Paris, 1979; Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* III, Cap. IV, *Die griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller* (= GCS) 2 band (ed. O. Stählin), Leipzig, 1906, 1, pp. 207–208. Hippolytus, *Refutatio omnium haeresium*, GCS 3 band (ed. P. Wendland), Leipzig, 1916. *Les Constitutions Apostoliques*, Tome II, Livres III–VI. (ed. M. Metzger), SC 329, Paris, 1986. Filastrius of Brescia, *Diversarum hereseon liber*, CCL 9, pp. 227ff.; Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion haer.* (1–64), GCS, 2 band (ed. K. Holl and J. Dummer), Leipzig, 1915 and 1980. Augustine, *De haeresibus*, CCL 46, pp. 283–358; Vincent of Lérins, *Commonitorium Excerpta*, CCL 64, pp. 127–195. Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum* VIII, *De haeresibus Christianorum*, in *San Isidoro de Sevilla*, pp. 692–702.

cont.

Male	Female	Accusation
Montanus	Prisca/Maximilla	pervert churches
Arius	Constantia	lead world astray
Donatus	Lucilla	polluting baptism
Agape/Elpidius form the only exception where Jerome altered the gender of the list.		
Agape	[Elpidius]	Spiritual blindness
Priscillian	Galla and her sister	Zoroaster/magic

The deeper meaning of each heretic, including their corresponding error, lies in the patristic sources from which Jerome carefully selected so as to develop a critique directed at both the Pelagian and Priscillianist sects.¹⁴

Jerome began his list with a reference to Simon Magus, and for good reason. In all of the heretical lists Simon Magus consistently tops the list of Christian heresies and Irenaeus is the earliest source for this tradition.¹⁵ The Church Fathers unanimously taught that Simon Magus is the 'spiritual father' of all heresy. Some sources such as Hippolytus's *Refutation of all Heresies*, *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles*, and the *Commonitorium* of Vincent of Lérins explicitly teach that all subsequent heretics either spiritually derive indirectly from Simon or are his direct successors.¹⁶ All of the heretics Jerome identified are understood to be pseudo-spiritual successors of Simon,

¹⁴ Jerome more than any other contemporary writer of Priscillian went beyond the Manichaean-Gnostic association, although not everyone after him followed closely the arguments he brings forth in the letter. For example, Augustine, *De haeresibus*, 70, CCL 46, p. 333. The *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles* identified a succession of all heretics from Simon Magus, 6.8.1, SC 329, pp. 314–317. Vincent of Lérins well after Jerome mentioned the succession, but Jerome provided in the letter the 'specific heretical links' between Simon and Priscillian, *Commonitorium*, CCL 64, pp. 148–149, pp. 181 and 182.

¹⁵ Irenaeus, *Contra haereses*, 1.23.1, SC 264, pp. 312–313. See A. Le Boulluec, *La notion d'hérésie dans la littérature grecque II^e–III^e siècles*, vol. 1: *De Justin à Irénée*, Paris, 1985, pp. 481–483 and 558, for further discussion on the concept of heretical succession.

¹⁶ Hippolytus voiced a similar opinion: *Refutatio omnium haeresium* 6.7, GCS 3, pp. 134–135. *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles*, 6.8.1, SC 329, pp. 314–317, Eusebius of Caesarea had the same views: *HE*, 2.13 (ed. G. Bardy), SC 31, pp. 66–68. This edition reproduces the GCS text]. Pseudo-Tertullian called Simon Magus the "first" of all heretics: *Adversus omnes haereses. Tertulliani Opera, pars II opera Monastica*, CCL 2. 2 p. 1401. Vincent of Lérins, *Commonitorium*, CCL 64, p. 181.

and they all are spiritually embodied in Priscillian.¹⁷ The position of both Simon and Priscillian at opposite ends of the list is not incidental. Simon and Priscillian appear as the Alpha and Omega of heresy, for all heresies ultimately are traceable to Simon. Jerome was quite conscious of the fact that in the New Testament it was the Apostle Peter that confronted, rebuked, and silenced Simon Magus.¹⁸ Thus, Simon the Rock crushed by his apostolic authority the other Simon, the 'magician', the anti-apostle who established a parallel pseudo-apostolic succession.¹⁹ Again, the sources are clear on this encounter between Peter and Simon, notably Eusebius of Caesarea; and in Priscillian we find, spiritually speaking, an enemy of the apostles—and no less than the Apostle Peter—the one chosen by Christ to build his Church. Jerome in one stroke condemned Priscillian and advanced Petrine supremacy.²⁰ That Priscillian was considered by some to be the conglomeration of all previous heresies, thrown together, so to speak, is attested in a letter that Pope Leo I wrote

¹⁷ The absence of specific language pointing to "succession" or "successors" of Simon Magus is readily evident in many early works on heresy, notably those by: Irenaeus, *Contra haereses*, 1.23.2, *SC* 264, pp. 314–315, comes very close by saying that all heresies are "derived" from Simon Magus; Filastrius of Brescia, *Diversarum hereseon liber*, 29, *CCL* 9, p. 228. Augustine, *De haeresibus*, 1, *CCL* 46, p. 290; They all gave Simon heretical primacy by positioning him first on their list of Christian heresies. Epiphanius of Salamis in the *Panarion* offers a more extensive dialogue on Simon and he used explicit language, but one that is still shy of the language that we find in the *Constitutions* or in Vincent of Lérins. Epiphanius said of Simon, "Simon Magus's makes the first sect to begin in the time since Christ", *Panarion haer.* 21, 1.1, *GCS* 1, p. 238. The only 'succession' in Epiphanius is in regard to the Gnostics.

¹⁸ *Acts of the Apostles* 8.9–25. The Simon Magus tradition in the *Apocryphal New Testament* has its own separate development which does not contribute directly to the pseudo-apostolic succession that we are pursuing in this portion of the article. I am, however, currently working on a booklength monograph on the figure of Simon Magus from the Early Church to the Reformation.

¹⁹ The idea of pseudo-apostolic succession is implicit in the heretical lists, particularly the early ones. The *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles*, voiced the precise language that Jerome infused into his own list, see 6.9.6, *SC* 329, pp. 320–321. Consult A. Le Boulluec, *La notion d'hérésie* cited above in note 15.

²⁰ Most of the sources remain true to the account in the *Acts of the Apostles*, but Eusebius used expressions like no other to describe the confrontation between Simon Peter and Simon Magus, for example, where he speaks of Simon and his followers negatively: *HE*, 2.1.10–12, *SC* 31, p. 51. Eusebius devoted chapter 13 to the origins of Simon, then, in chapter 14 he turned to Peter's ministry at Rome. Simon is considered the most formidable enemy of the Apostles: *HE*, 2.13.1 and 2.14.1, *SC* 31, pp. 66–67 and 68, respectively. Finally Eusebius depicted Peter as the greatest of all Apostles who vanquished Simon Magus; see *HE*, 2.14, *SC* 31, pp. 68–70. For a partial discussion of Simon Magus and Eusebius, see B. Pearson, "Eusebius and Gnosticism", in *Eusebius, Christianity and Judaism* (H. W. Attridge and G. Hata, eds.), *Studia Post Biblica*, 42, E. J. Brill, 1992, pp. 291–310.

against the Priscillianists.²¹ In the preface to his lengthy critique of Priscillianism, the pope expressed his anguish over a heresy which combined the error of all previous heretical teaching. He warned: "Indeed, if all the heresies which have arisen before the time of Priscillian were to be considered diligently, hardly any error will be found by which this impiety has not been infected".²²

Simon Magus is also accused of being intimate with a woman named Helena, who was his co-partner in propagating perverse doctrines.²³ Priscillian was likewise accused first of leading women astray into doctrinal error, and second of cavorting with these women in orgiastic fashion.²⁴ The patristic reference to Helena brought a deeper moral dimension to Jerome's commentary on Simon Magus. Jerome referred to Helena as a 'harlot', an insulting remark that invoked the sexual improprieties that accompany such an accusation. Irenaeus portrayed Helena as a woman created by the mind of Simon, and he seemed to have meant this quite literally. He also states that both were worshipped by their followers as Jupiter and Minerva, respectively.²⁵ Additionally, those who followed them built statues in their

²¹ In the letter Pope Leo I did not spare colorful graphic language to expose the depravity of the Priscillianists, *Ep.* 15, *praef.*, *PL* 54, c. 678-679.

²² "Denique si universae haereses quae ante Priscilliani tempus exortae sunt diligentius retractentur, nullus pene invenietur error de quo non traxerit impietas ista contagium: quae non contenta eorum recipere falsitates qui ab Evangelio sub Christi nomine deviarunt, tenebris se etiam paganitatis immersit, ut per magicarum artium profana secreta et mathematicorum vana mendacia, religionis fidem morumque rationem in potestate daemonum, et in effectu siderum collocarent". (*Ep.* 15, *praef.*, *PL* 54, c. 679).

²³ Justin Martyr, *Apologia* 1.26. *Florilegium Patristicum* (ed. G. Rauschen), Bonnæ 1904, pp. 39-42. Irenaeus, *Contra haereses*, 1.23.2-4, *SC* 264, pp. 314-321. Tertullian, *De anima*, 34, *CSEL* 20, pp. 358-360; Hippolytus, *Refutatio omnium haeresum*, 6.19-20, *GCS* 3, pp. 145-148. Eusebius of Caesaria, *HE*, 2.13, *SC* 31, pp. 66-68. Filastrius of Brescia, *Diversarum haereson liber*, 29, *CCL* 9, p. 229; Epiphanius, *Panarion haer.* 21, 2.2-3.6, *GCS* 1, pp. 239-242.

²⁴ Sulpicius Severus reported the sexual deviancy of Priscillian: "Inde iter coeptum ingressi, turpi sane pudibundoque comitatu, cum uxoribus atque alienis etiam feminis, in quis erat Euchrotia ac filia eius Procula de qua fuit in sermone hominum Priscilliani stupro grauidam partum sibi graminibus abegisse", *Chron.* II, 48, *CSEL* I, p. 101, and in 50, p. 103, Jerome elsewhere echoed this behavior: "soli cum solis clauduntur mulierculis et illud eis inter coitum amplexusque", *Ep.* 133. 3, *CSEL* 56, p. 245; Pope Leo I chastised the immorality of the Priscillianists, too: "Videbant enim omnem curam honestatis auferri, omnem conjugiorum copulam solvi, simulque divinum jus humanumque subverti", *PL* 54, c. 679-680. Also his remarks in 54, c. 683-684, 689 and 691. Finally, the First Council of Braga (561) made the same accusations in canons 11 and 15, in *Concilios Visigóticos e Hispano-Romanos*, José Vives et al., Barcelona-Madrid, 1963, pp. 68-69 [Hereafter *Concilios Visigóticos*].

²⁵ *Contra haereses*, 1.23.4, *SC* 264, pp. 318-319. The most significant research

honor, and they made liberal use of love potions on each other, presumably to engage in illicit sexual activities.²⁶ Patristic writers were able to embody in Helena the sex, magic, and idolatry repeatedly associated later with the Priscillianists. Jerome never entertained the possibility that Helena, who accompanied Simon Magus, was initiating or participating in a female succession of heretics. The doctrine of apostolic succession, even in its pseudo-heretical form, is definitely confined to males. Helen although a culprit along with Simon Magus is perceived as dependent on him.

Jerome remained faithful to the patristic tradition in regard to Nicolas's strict succession from Simon Magus, but he shifted to the moral realm rather than doctrinal error only. Jerome did not ignore the moral dimension in Simon but his attention there was more on Simon as originator of doctrinal error. With Nicolas, Jerome did not bypass the doctrinal concerns altogether, yet it is abundantly clear that Nicolas embodies a 'type' of all future moral heretics and that is why he called Nicolas the "deviser of all uncleanness".²⁷ As Simon is the font of doctrinal error, Nicolas is the wellspring of immorality. Jerome associated immoral behavior amongst the heretics every bit as much as doctrinal error.

on Simon Magus and Helena is: H. Waitz, "Simon Magus in der altchristlichen Literatur", *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums* 5 (1904), pp. 121-143, at 138-140; L. H. Vincent, "Le culte d'Hélène à Samarie", *Revue Biblique* 45 (1936), pp. 221-232, with plates of statuary; G. Quispel, "Simon en Helena", *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 5 (1951), pp. 339-345; L. Cerfaux, "Simon le Magicien à Samarie", *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 27 (1937), pp. 615-617 = reprinted in *Recueil L. Cerfaux*, Ed. J. Diculot & Gembloux, 1954, pp. 259-262; G. Ory, "Le mythe Samaritain d'Hélène", *Cahiers du Cercle Ernest Renan* 3, 12 (1956), pp. 1-32; There are scattered references to Helena in J. M. A. Salles-Dabadie, *Recherches sur Simon le Mage*. 1, *L'Apophysis megalè*, Cahiers de la Revue Biblique, 10, Paris, 1969; One of the most thorough treatments is by K. Beyschlag, *Simon Magus und die Christliche Gnosis*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, 16, Tübingen, 1974; G. Lüdemann, *Untersuchungen zur simonischen Gnosis*, Göttingen, 1974, pp. 55-65. K. Rudolph, "Simon Magus oder Gnosticus?", *Theologische Rundschau* 42 (1977), pp. 328-351; R. Bergmeier, "Die Gestalt des Simon Magus in Act 8 und in der simonischen Gnosis-Aporien einer Gesamtdeutung", *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der Alteren Kirche*, 77 (1986), pp. 273-275; J. Fossum, "The Simonian Sophia Myth", *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle religioni*, *L'Aquila* 11 (1987), pp. 185-197. All of these studies provide extensive references to the sources and pertinent secondary literature.

²⁶ *Contra haereses*, 1.23.4, *SC*, 264, pp. 318-319. See also Hippolytus, *Refutatio omnium haeresum*, 6.19-20, *GCS* 3, pp. 145-148, and for a summary of Simon's doctrines, p. 143.

²⁷ "Nicolaus Antiochenus, omnium immunditiarum repertor, chorus duxit feminos", *Ep.* 133.4, *CSEL* 56, p. 248.

The patristic commentary on Nicolas brings to the surface what Jerome wished to convey to Ctesiphon. Irenaeus established the tradition that Nicolas was one of seven deacons appointed by the apostles at Jerusalem.²⁸ In his *Against Heresies* he accused Nicolas and his followers of leading lives, "of unrestrained indulgence", which also included idolatry.²⁹ According to Irenaeus, the *Apocalypse* of John singled out Nicolas and the Nicolaitans for their immorality. Clement of Alexandria is less sure whether Nicolas actually founded the sect of the Nicolaitans.³⁰ Clement reports an incident, which he doubts to be true, and it is apparently the source of all of the negative rumors about Nicolas.³¹ Nicolas allegedly brought his wife to the apostles, to whom he offered her up in marriage and encouraged her to abuse the flesh, which Clement understood to mean Nicolas's renunciation of his own passions. Clement continued by pointing out that Nicolas never married again, his daughters remained virgins, and that even his son remained chaste.³² In the latter tradition, Isidore of Seville in the *Etymologies* opted for the morally lapsed view of Nicolas. Isidore repeated his appointment by Peter as deacon in Jerusalem, and he uncritically cited the doubtful story that Nicolas gave up his wife to be seduced by the apostles.³³

²⁸ Irenaeus, *Contra haereses*, 1.26.3, SC 264, pp. 348–349. Pseudo-Tertullian, *Adversus omnes haereses*, CCL 2.2, pp. 1402–1403.

²⁹ *Contra haereses*, 1.26.3, SC 264, pp. 348–349.

³⁰ Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.*, 3, 4, GCS 1, pp. 207–208. *The Constitutions of the Holy Apostles*, likewise cast doubt over the connection between Nicolas and the Nicolaitans, 6.8.2, SC 329, pp. 316–317. Epiphanius did not question this tradition, *Panarion haer.* 25, GCS, 1, pp. 267–274. In the latter tradition Nicolas is credited with the foundation of the sect, for example, Filastrius of Brescia seems to have adopted a neutral position—whether by intent is difficult to ascertain—, since he focused only on the 'person' rather than the 'sect'. *Diversarum hereseon liber*, 33, CCL 9, p. 231. Augustine, *De haeresibus*, 5, CCL 46, p. 291. Isidore of Seville followed the Augustinian tradition faithfully in Spain: *Etymologiarum VIII, De haeresibus Christianorum*, 8.5.5, in *San Isidoro de Sevilla*, pp. 693–695. On the Nicolaitans see P. Prigent, "L'hérésie asiatic et l'église confessante de l'Apocalypse à Ignace", *Vigiliae Christianae* 31 (1977), pp. 1–22, especially pp. 10–22. Also his more comprehensive *L'Apocalypse de Jean. Commentaire du Nouveau Testament*, sér. II, 14, Genève, Labor et Fides, 1988.

³¹ *Strom.*, 3, 4, GCS 1, pp. 207–208.

³² *Strom.*, 3, 4, GCS 1, pp. 207–208. See also Eusebius of Caesarea, *HE*, 3.29. 1–4, SC 31, pp. 139–140. Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion haer.* 25, GCS 1, pp. 267–274. Some convey only that Nicolas had been a deacon, chosen by the Apostles, and who subsequently fell into doctrinal error. For example, see Hippolytus, *Refutatio omnium haeresium*, 7.36, GCS 3, pp. 222–223. *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles*, 6. 8. 2, SC, 329, pp. 316–317. Filastrius of Brescia, *Diversarum hereseon liber*, CCL 9, pp. 231–232. Augustine, *De haeresibus*, 5, CCL 46, pp. 291–292.

³³ *Etymologiarum VIII, De haeresibus Christianorum* 8.5.5, in *San Isidoro de Sevilla*,

Jerome chose to ignore Clement and embrace the Irenaeon tradition in which Nicolas was reprimanded for perverted sexual behavior. Priscillian was, then, the spiritual descendent of Simon in doctrinal error and of Nicolas in immorality. If one accepts Irenaeus's account, as with Simon, Nicolas was confronted, repudiated, and cast out by one of the most prominent apostles, John the beloved of Christ. With this line of reasoning the Priscillianists, as all heretics, are opposed to apostolic teaching and morality.

Jerome associated Nicolas with the companionship of bands of women, a view that ignored a good portion of patristic writers, notably Clement but again borrowing heavily from Irenaeus.³⁴ This view of Nicolas cavorting with numerous women is consistent with the alleged behavior associated with Priscillian, especially in Sulpicius Severus and Pope Leo I.³⁵ Sulpicius singled out specific women supposedly sexually involved with Priscillian, such as Procula, who allegedly became pregnant and had an abortion.³⁶ In other places, Priscillian is depicted participating in sexual orgies and nude liturgical services. These allegations are echoes of the somewhat obscure Adamite sect frequently mentioned in some heretical lists.³⁷ Such rumors seems to have been behind the conciliar prohibition at the Council of Zaragoza (380) that women should stay away from other men [Priscillianists].³⁸ At the outset Jerome established the two major

p. 694. The bishop of Seville closed his observations with the Apostle John's condemnation of Nicolas, a clear scriptural reference to the Nicolaitans in the Apocalypse. *Ibid.*, "Quos Iohannes in *Apocalypsi* inprobat dicent (2.6): 'Sed hoc habes quod odisti facta Nicolaitarum'".

³⁴ *Ep.* 133.4, *CSEL* 56, p. 248.

³⁵ See note 27 above.

³⁶ "Cum uxoribus atque alienis etiam feminis, in quis erat Euchrotia ac filia eius Procula, de qua fuit in sermone hominum Priscilliani stupro grauidam partum sibi graminibus abegisse", Sulpicius Severus, *Chron.* II, 48, *CSEL* 1, p. 101. See note 24 above.

³⁷ Sulpicius referred to nude prayer services, *Chron.* II, 50, *CSEL* 1, p. 103. Jerome specifically mentioned this practice. *Ep.* 133.3, *CSEL* 56, p. 245. What is readily evident from this study is the fact that most heretical sects were accused of nudity, sexual liberties, and other related practices. Augustine included the Adamites in his list, *De haeresibus*, 31, *CCSL* 46, pp. 304–305.

³⁸ "Ut mulieres omnes ecclesiae catholicae et fideles a vivorum alienorum lectione et coetibus separentur, vel ad ipsas legentes aliae studio vel docendi vel discendi convenient, quoniam hoc Apostolus iubet. Ab universis episcopis dictum est: Anathema futuros qui hanc concilii sententiam non observaverint", canon 1, *Concilios Visigóticos*, p. 16. The most thorough treatment of the Council of Zaragoza is the collection of essays in *I Concilio Caesaraugustano. MDC Aniversario*, Zaragoza, 25–27 de septiembre de 1980, Zaragoza, 1980. In the same volume, see specifically the essay

foundations upon which the remaining heresiarchic structure rests, and he found his pillars in the men Simon/Nicolas, and the women Helena/Bands of Women.

Jerome accused Marcion and an unidentified woman of collaborating together to deceive men, particularly at Rome.³⁹ Marcion certainly represents more than a male who cavorted with questionable women, for he was better known for his role in the debates over the Canon of the New Testament, and its relationship with the Old Testament.

Irenaeus mentioned Marcion, within the context of other heretics, whom he also accused of being disciples and successors of Simon Magus. Concerning any immoral behavior with women, or of employing female emissaries, he is completely silent.⁴⁰ The Pseudo-Tertullian reported that Marcion was “excommunicated because of a rape committed on a certain virgin”.⁴¹ Jerome’s belief that Marcion sent a woman to Rome to deceive men is equally isolated and is not corroborated by any previous or contemporary writers. In this manner Jerome was able to maintain both the male heretical successions and the parallel list of female followers. The male line with Marcion is based firmly on a well established growing tradition; whereas the female line is more the imagination of Jerome, and one that certainly modified the story of the virgin related by Pseudo-Tertullian. I believe that Jerome’s reference to Rome is an allusion to St. Peter, symbolically pitting Marcion against the ‘Chief of the Apostles’.⁴²

by J. M. Blázquez, “Prisciliano, introductor del ascetismo en Hispania. Las fuentes. Estudio de la investigación moderna”, pp. 65–121. See also F. Bolgiani, “La polemica di Clemente Alessandrino contra gli gnostici libertini nel III libro degli Stromati”, in *Studi in onore di A. Pincherle. Studi e Materiali di storia delle religioni*, 38, 2 vols., Roma, 1967, pp. 86–136.

³⁹ “Marcion Roman praemisit mulierem, quae deceptarum sibi animos praepararet”, *Ep.* 133.4, *CSEL* 56, p. 248. See also A. Salles, “Simon le Magicien ou Marcion?”, *Vigiliae Christianae* 12, 4 (1958), pp. 197–224.

⁴⁰ Irenaeus, *Contra haereses*, 1.27.1–4, *SC* 264, pp. 348–355. The same is true of the testimony found in Hippolytus and Eusebius who did not intimate that Marcion had misbehaved with any women. Hippolytus, *Refutatio omnium haeresium*, 10.19, *GCS* 3, pp. 279–280. Eusebius of Caesarea, *HE*, 4.11.8–10, *SC* 31, pp. 175–176. Filastrius of Brescia, Augustine, and Isidore of Seville likewise did not connect Marcion with any female followers. Filastrius of Brescia, *Diversarum hereseon liber*, 44, *CCSL* 9, p. 236. Augustine, *De haeresibus*, 22, *CCSL* 46, pp. 299–300. *Etymologiarum* VIII, *De haeresibus Christianorum*, 8.5.21, in *San Isidoro de Sevilla*, p. 695.

⁴¹ Pseudo-Tertullian, *Adversus omnes haereses*, *CCSL* 2.2, p. 1408.

⁴² *Ep.* 133.4, *CSEL* 56, p. 248. A tantalizing element in Irenaeus and Eusebius is the specific inclusion of Rome and the papacy in their entries on Marcion. In

There is more, typologically speaking, to consider about Marcion and for what he was best known, the debate over the Canon of Scripture. According to the tradition, Marcion had rejected the Old Testament as inconsistent with the spirit and message of the New Testament; furthermore his selection of the latter testament was to be found within an even narrower corpus of gospels and epistles. As far as Jerome was concerned the question of the Canon was a closed topic settled by the Church in earlier times. The case of Priscillian is an example that for some the Canon was still a matter of discussion, and a dialogue filled with controversy. Jerome spoke for what was rapidly emerging as the consensus Catholic view of the Canon, whereas Priscillian—as Jerome saw him—was the symbolic Marcionite vestige who would violate the Scripture as found in both testaments. There is a consistent litany of charges levelled against Priscillian for his use of apocryphal or non-canonical books.⁴³ The reference to apocryphal works seems to point to Priscillian's own writings and Gnostic gospels and epistles. The First Council of Braga (561) whose primary agenda was to deal with an apparently strong persistent Priscillianism in Galicia, referred to these books:

Irenaeus, Cerdo and Marcion are treated together: *Contra haereses* 1.27.1–4, *SC*, 264, pp. 348–355. Eusebius quoted Irenaeus on these matters as his chief source: *HE*, 4.11, *SC* 31, pp. 173–176.

⁴³ Irenaeus singled out this issue, too, *Contra haereses*, 1.27.2, *SC* 264, pp. 350–351. Filastrius of Brescia also commented on Marcion's canonical preferences: *Diversarum hereseon liber*, 44, *CCSL* 9, p. 236. Also relevant is his entry, 88, pp. 255–256. Some of the testimony includes Pope Leo I, in an indirect reference to tampering with the holy books, “per ipsos doctrinae Priscillianae Evangelium subditur Christi, ut ad profanos sensus pietate sanctorum voluminum depravat, sub nominibus prophetarum et apostolorum non hoc praedicetur quod Spiritus sanctus docuit, sed quod diaboli minister inseruit”, *Ep.* 15, *praef.*, *PL* 54, c. 680, see also c. 687–688. Augustine devoted an entire letter to this topic: *Ep.* 237, *CSEL* 57, pp. 526–532; and *De haeresibus*, 70, *CCSL* 46, pp. 333–334. There are other references in Vincent of Lérins, *Commonitorium*, *CCSL* 64, p. 182. More explicitly at the First Council of Toledo (400): “Et cum accepisset chartulam, de scripto recitavit: Omnes libros haereticos, et maxime Priscilliani doctrinam, iuxta quod hodie lectum est”, and in the same council, “nullis libris apocryphis aut novis scientiis, quas Priscillianus composuerat involutum . . . quaecumque contra fidem catholicam Priscillianus scripserat cum ipso auctore damnasse”, *Concilios Visigóticos*, pp. 29, 30–31 and 33, also the First Council of Braga (561), *Concilios Visigóticos*, pp. 69, 73. Jerome addressed the use of extra-biblical sources and the writing of books by the Priscillianists in several works, and in some cases indirectly, such as, his *Commentariorum in Esaïam. Libri XII–XVIII*, *CCSL* 73A. S. *Hieronymi Presbyteri Opera*, Pars 1, 2 A, p. 735. Another indirect citation is in *Praefatio S. Hieronymi in Pentateuchum*, *PL* 28, c. 180–181. Also, but more directly, in *De viris illustribus*, 121, 122, 123, (ed. W. Herding), pp. 62–63, = *PL* 23, c. 750–751. See the edition by R. Braun, *Contre Marcion*, 2 t., *SC* 365, 368, Paris, 1990, 1991.

It is not proper to recite in church psalms composed by laymen nor to read books that are outside the canonical books of the New and Old Testament.⁴⁴

The subject of the Canon was continued with vigor by Jerome in the section on Apelles and the prophetess Philumena, about whom he says, "Apelles possessed in Philumena a companion in his doctrines".⁴⁵ The parallel with Jerome's earlier comments about Simon and Helena is striking.

Tertullian in several works directed his attention to Apelles and Philumena. Firstly, he established the heretical lineage, that Jerome found useful in his polemic. Tertullian in his *On Prescription Against Heretics* taught that Apelles had been a disciple of Marcion, but that Apelles forsook continence; thus precipitating a schism between them, a story he repeated in the *On the Flesh of Christ*.⁴⁶ In the former work Tertullian identified the woman as being from Alexandria, and in both works he says that Apelles forsook her in order to take up an affair with Philumena, whom he colorfully calls "an enormous prostitute", and in either case both were illicit unions.⁴⁷ It is rather surprising in view of what the Pseudo-Tertullian *Against All Heresies* said about Marcion earlier that he appears as more sexually continent than Apelles. The Pseudo-Tertullian was not consistent here, although most of the remaining sources do repeat the continence of Marcion.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Canon 12, p. 73, note in the same council, canon 17 which was directed at Priscillian: "Si quis scripturas, quas Priscillianus secundum suum depravarit errorem vel tractatos Dictinii quos ipse Dictinius antequam converteretur . . .", *Concilios Visigóticos*, p. 69.

⁴⁵ "Apelles Philumenem suarum comitem habuit doctrinarum": *Ep.* 133.4, *CSEL* 56, p. 248. A rather startling gap in the testimony on this sect is the absence of Philumena, for example: Filastrius of Brescia, *Diversarum hereseon liber*, 47, *CCSL* 9, p. 237; Epiphanius, *Panarion haer.* 44, *GCS* 2, pp. 189-199; Augustine, *De haeresibus*, 23, *CCSL* 46, p. 300 and Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum VIII*; *De haeresibus Christianorum*, 8. 5. 12, in *San Isidoro de Sevilla*, p. 695.

⁴⁶ *De praescriptione haereticorum*, 30, *CSEL* 70, p. 37 in the same work, 33, pp. 41-42; also his, *De carne Christi* 6, *CSEL* 70, p. 203 in the same work chapter 8, pp. 212-214. See also, J. P. Mahé, *La chair du Christ*, 2 t., SC 216, 217, Paris, 1975. Tertullian referred to Apelles and Philumena in *Adversus Marcionem*, *Tertulliani Opera*, pars 1, 3, 11, and 4, 17, *CCSL* 1, pp. 521-523 and 585-588. And, *De anima*, 23 and 26, *CSEL* 20, pp. 335-336; 362-363.

⁴⁷ "Postea vero immane prostibulum et ipsam": *De praescriptione haereticorum*, 30, *CSEL* 70, p. 37. Eusebius adds little to the previous commentary in general, but he too did not spare negative language concerning Philumena: *HE*, 5.13.2, *SC* 41, pp. 42-43.

⁴⁸ See note 40 above.

It is also here that we are introduced to the spiritual dimension of this heresy. Pseudo-Tertullian, after alerting the readers to the carnality of these heretics, continued to call Philumena a prophetess that apparently seduced Apelles.⁴⁹ Jerome who was well acquainted with this commentary helped Ctesiphon make the spiritual associations between them and the Priscillianists.

Hippolytus elaborated the spiritual dimension of Apelles and Philumena in his work *Refutation of all Heresies*. Apelles "devotes himself to the discourses of a certain Philumena as to the revelations of a prophetess, and to a book which he calls *Revelations*".⁵⁰ The reference to a prophetess and a book called *Revelations* is clearly an issue directly related to the question of Canon. Again, as far as Jerome was concerned there were no other books outside of the Vulgate Canon that could be legitimately called upon as authoritative, much less apostolic. Add to all of these concerns the woman, Philumena, the "enormous prostitute" (as Tertullian called her), the mediatrix of these prophecies. Jerome had about as tight a case against this heresy as any orthodox zealot could ever wish for, and the connections he made with Priscillian require little imagination on our part.

The moral impropriety of Apelles and Philumena, along with the prominent role of the latter, are similar to practices associated with Priscillian. The question of the Canon in relation to Philumena's book of *Revelations* is certainly reflected in the apocryphal books associated with Priscillian. Jerome also maintained the succession of heretics since it was widely believed that Apelles had been a disciple of Marcion. Jerome did depart from the patristic commentary in how he depicted the relationship between Apelles and Philumena. Jerome spoke of Philumena as an 'associate' of Apelles, whereas, in Hippolytus, Apelles is virtually led and spellbound by Philumena.⁵¹ The relationship Jerome espoused was especially consistent with the Priscillian tradition regarding the woman Agape as we shall see below. Priscillian is spoken of as both leading astray or being swayed by women, but he is most frequently portrayed as the 'man' in charge.⁵²

⁴⁹ Pseudo-Tertullian, *Adversus omnes haereses*, CCL 2.2, p. 1409.

⁵⁰ Hippolytus, *Refutatio omnium haeresum*, 7.38, GCS 3, p. 224 and 10.20, GCS 3, pp. 280-281.

⁵¹ Jerome used "comitem habuit" to describe their relationship, such an association is certainly not reflected in most of the sources, *Ep.* 133.4, CSEL 56, p. 248.

⁵² Especially in the *Chronicon* of Sulpicius Severus: "Is ubi doctrinam exitiabilem

Jerome obviously desired to maintain at this juncture a line of male heretics assisted by women who propagate the message of their male teachers.

In Montanus Jerome arrived at the end of what he called 'ancient history', and in numerous ways he continued to challenge the question of extra-biblical revelation as before with Marcion and Apelles. Jerome singled out both spiritual and moral lapses, calling Montanus "that mouthpiece of an unclean spirit", who was also guilty of leading astray "two wealthy and high born ladies, Prisca and Maximilla".⁵³ Montanus allegedly used the two women to bribe and sexually pervert many churches.⁵⁴ In summary, Jerome alerted his readers that the Montanists gave women a prominent role, claimed to have additional messages from God, and much more besides.

As with Apelles and Philumena, the primary practice of the Montanists that Jerome focused upon was their self-proclaimed belief that God spoke to them directly as he had done with the apostles. Tertullian in *A Treatise on the Soul* reported that a Montanist woman claimed to receive visions, to talk to angels—even Jesus himself—and to be able to discern people's hearts.⁵⁵ Hippolytus taught that Montanists preached a message which they believed superseded that given by Christ.⁵⁶ Apollonius in *Concerning Montanism* accused Montanist women of leaving their husbands, taking gifts and money, lending on interest; and if that were not enough, a weakness for expensive clothes, jewelry, including an appetite for gambling.⁵⁷

Jerome revealed some of his views on the Montanists in *Letter 41*, wherein he targeted the prophetic-revelation message of this sect. He

aggressus est, multos nobilium pluresque populares auctoritate persuadendi et arte blandiendi allicuit in societatem. ad hoc mulieres nouarum rerum cupidae, fluxa fide et ad omnia curioso ingenio, cateruatim ad eum confluebant" (*Chron.* II, 46, *CSEL* 1, pp. 99–100).

⁵³ "Montanus, inmundi spiritus praedicator, multas ecclesias per Priscam et Maximillam, nobiles et opulentas feminas, primum auro corruptit; dein heresi poluit. dimittam uetera, ad uiciniora transcendam", *Ep.* 133.4, *CSEL* 56, p. 248. Augustine, *De haeresibus* 26 and 27, *CCSL* 46, pp. 302–303.

⁵⁴ In Sulpicius the charge of bribery is singled out as yet another of the moral lapses of the Priscillianists. Some examples in the *Chronicon* are 48 and 49, *CSEL* 1, pp. 101–103.

⁵⁵ *De anima*, 9, *CSEL* 20, p. 310.

⁵⁶ Hippolytus, *Refutatio omnium haeresum*, 8.19, *GCS* 3, p. 238. Also, Epiphanius, *Paraneron haer.* 4.8, *GCS* 2, pp. 219–241.

⁵⁷ Eusebius, *HE*, 5.18.3–4, *SC* 41, p. 56. Consult, Asterius Urbanus in Eusebius, *HE*, 5.16–17, *SC* 41, pp. 46–54.

commenced with a reference to the 'Day of Pentecost' as a unique event that in itself was a fulfilled final event.⁵⁸ Apparently, if we are to believe Jerome, the Montanists claimed a somewhat similar outpouring of the Spirit, which *de facto* made their message equal to the apostles, if not superior.⁵⁹ The True Church, continued Jerome, was inaugurated at Pentecost, and it is from those apostles *only* that legitimate successors proceed. Jerome qualified his previous statements, where he affirmed that he did not oppose prophecy, only that type which claimed to supercede the revelation of Scripture.⁶⁰ He fully agreed with previous commentators who attacked the Montanist claim of an exclusive fullness of apostolic knowledge not possessed or received by anyone else.

The parallels that Jerome desired to make between the Montanists and Priscillianists seemed to be the following. Earlier in section three of *Letter* 133 Jerome said Priscillianists "are rash enough to claim for themselves the twofold credit of perfection and wisdom".⁶¹ When Priscillian was blamed for leading women astray, these were usually socially high born and wealthy, like Prisca and Maximilla. Sulpicius Severus similarly attributed to the Priscillianists bribery and other forms of irresponsible uses of money to buy influence and power.⁶² The 'unclean spirit' that spoke through Montanus was Jerome's way of establishing the satanic origins of both Montanists and Priscillianists.

The prominent role of women in both sects is all too obvious. Equally significant was the widely held tradition that Montanus and Maximilla committed suicide and died a tragic death, as all heretics, figuratively speaking, ultimately do. In both incidents the heretics met death and Jerome's statement that Priscillian was "condemned

⁵⁸ *Ep.* 41, 1, *CSEL* 54, pp. 311-312.

⁵⁹ Hippolytus shared this opinion, *Refutatio omnium haeresum* 8.19, *GCS* 3, p. 238. Filastrius of Brescia, *Diversarum hereseon liber* 49, *CCSL* 9, p. 238. There is a rich tradition on the biblical exegesis of 'Babel and Pentecost' see my "Linguarum diversitate: 'Babel and Pentecost' in Leander's homily at the Third Council of Toledo", *Actas del XIV Centenario del Concilio III de Toledo 589-1989*, Toledo 10-14, May, 1989, Toledo 1991 pp. 237-248. Jerome, *Ep.* 41, 1, *CSEL* 54, pp. 311-312.

⁶⁰ Jerome, *Ep.* 41, 1, *CSEL* 54, p. 312. Augustine repeated with no innovation the corpus of earlier writers, *De haeresibus*, 26 and 27, *CCSL* 46, pp. 302-303. Isidore of Seville referred to the alleged Montanist belief that they possessed a superior revelation, *Etymologiarum* VIII, *De haeresibus Christianorum* 8.5.27, in *San Isidoro de Sevilla*, p. 696.

⁶¹ "uerbum perfectionis, et scientiae sibi temere uindicantes", *Ep.* 133.3, *CSEL* 56, p. 245.

⁶² See note 54 above.

by the whole world and put to death by the secular sword" should be interpreted within this framework.⁶³ And from this point onward Jerome turned his attention to heretical groups that flourished in his own words, "to times nearer to our own", and so he set his sights upon Arius.⁶⁴

Arianism in Jerome's day was a heresy that still raged in the East and one contemporaneous with Priscillianism. Jerome blamed Arius for leading the world astray, and also for "beguiling the Emperor's sister".⁶⁵ This sister was Constantia, who exemplified yet another high born woman, led astray by a heretic. Briefly told, Constantia was deceived by a presbyter in the royal palace, who was, in a sense, a 'closet' Arian, one who believed that Arius had been misrepresented and unjustly condemned at Nicaea. It seems the presbyter persuaded Constantia of Arius's innocence, then she in turn made efforts to convince her brother, the Emperor, to reconsider Arius's condemnation.⁶⁶

Jerome was intent on associating Priscillian with the Arian heresy especially its Trinitarian theology. It was exceedingly desirable, if not crucial, for Jerome to establish a heretical link between Priscillian and Arianism, the most explosive theological heresy of the fourth century.⁶⁷ Jerome's direct association of Arius with Priscillian is unique since the major contemporary sources, notably Sulpicius Severus and the Council of Zaragoza (380), do not specifically call Priscillian an Arian.

Such Arian associations were creatively made in the latter sources, such as, the First Council of Braga (561) and the letter of Pope Leo I.⁶⁸ At the First Council of Braga Arius is not specifically mentioned

⁶³ See Eusebius of Caesaria, *HE* 5.16.13, *SC* 41, p. 50.

⁶⁴ "Dimittam uetera, ad uiciniora transcendam", *Ep.* 133.4, *CSEL* 56, p. 248.

⁶⁵ "Arius, ut orbem caperet, sororem principis ante decepit", *Ep.* 133.4, *CSEL* 56, p. 248.

⁶⁶ See, Sozomen, *HE*, 2.27, *SC* 306 (trans. André-Jean Festugière) Paris, 1983, pp. 348–355. The editor notes that Sozomen is following both Rufinus (*HE* 1 (x), 12) and Socrates Scholasticus (*HE* 1, 25), p. 349. Constantia is not mentioned in Filastrius of Brescia *Diversarum hereseon liber* 66, *CCSL* 9, p. 244. Augustine, *De haeresibus*, 49, *CCSL* 46, pp. 320–321. Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum* VIII, *De haeresibus Christianorum* 8.5.43, in *San Isidoro de Sevilla*, p. 698.

⁶⁷ The literature on Arianism is extensive. For an introduction in a broader context and with detailed current bibliography see, W. H. C. Frend, *The Rise of Christianity*, Philadelphia, Fortress Press, 1984. Consult R. P. C. Hanson, *The Search for the Christian Doctrine of God. The Arian Controversy 318–381*, Edinburgh, T&T Clark, 1988, pp. 516–530.

⁶⁸ Pope Leo I, *Ep.* 15, *PL* 54, c. 678–695. First Council of Braga (561), *Concilios Iisagótticos*, pp. 65–77.

by name in relation to Priscillian, but such an omission is not insurmountable. The initial four canons that condemn Priscillian address his Trinitarian doctrine, and if what they relate is accurate, they are without question Arian views.⁶⁹ I have noted elsewhere that Arianism, which had been pervasive in Galicia prior to the council, is not mentioned specifically in the least. The bishops, as I have argued, believed that Arianism was dead, at least officially, since the Suevic monarchy no longer claimed to be followers of Arianism.⁷⁰ In Galicia bolder claims for the eradication of heresy, both Arian and Priscillianist, were announced at the Second Council of Braga of 572. In the opening speech it was declared "through the help of Christ's grace there is no doubt about the unity and orthodoxy of the faith in this province".⁷¹ It was alarming enough to admit to the possibility of one heresy in that province [Priscillianism], it was quite another matter to affirm Arianism, particularly in view of its most recent official extirpation. In the four canons of the First Council of Braga Priscillian was associated with numerous heretics, they are all 'safely' in the distant past, however.⁷²

A letter of Pope Leo I was read by the bishops at the First Council of Braga (561), and it appears to have been the singular major document used against the Priscillianists.⁷³ The pope mentioned these heretics by name in regard to the Trinity: Sabellius, Paul of Samosata, and Photinus, all later identified at the Council. He pressed further on the Trinity to refute Priscillian when he said: "In this they also pursue the Arian's mistake". We are to understand 'also' as a reference to an earlier section in the letter where Pope Leo I had already dealt point by point with Priscillianist Trinitarianism.⁷⁴ The bishops gathered at Braga chose not to mention Arianism specifically as found in Leo's letter.

⁶⁹ First Council of Braga (561), *Concilios Visigóticos*, pp. 67–68.

⁷⁰ "The Missionary Labors of St. Martin of Braga in 6th Century Galicia", *Studia Monastica* 23. 1 (1981), pp. 19–20.

⁷¹ "Et quia opitulante Christi gratia de imitate et rectitudine fidei in hac provincia nihil [sic] es dubium", *Concilios Visigóticos*, p. 79.

⁷² For example "sicut Sabellius et Priscillianus dixerunt", canons 1, 2, 3, and 4, *Concilios Visigóticos*, pp. 67–68.

⁷³ First Council of Braga (561), *Concilios Visigóticos*, p. 66.

⁷⁴ "Quod blasphemiae genus de Sabellii opinione sumpserunt" (15, 3); "Quod utique non auderent dicere, nisi Pauli Samosatani et Photini" (15, 2), And more directly on the Arian affiliation: "In quo Arianorum quoque suffragantur errori" (*Ep.* 15, 1, *PL* 54, c. 681).

Constantia does not occupy a central role in Arianism, but for Jerome's purposes she became an important feminine connection with the preceding male heretics and their female companions. She is also exemplary of a heretical woman easily swayed into heresy and scheming behind the scenes.

Jerome moves on to address the Donatists. Donatus and Lucilla are blamed for "defiling with his polluting baptism many unhappy people in Africa", and what that baptism entailed theologically is what Jerome wanted to bring to the surface.⁷⁵ The Donatist debate centered upon the legitimacy of bishops, who had lapsed during persecution and then after the persecution lifted asked to be reinstated. The Donatists argued against the *traditores* [bishops] who cooperated with the Imperial authorities in handing over religious books. The Donatist church emphatically required re-baptism as a necessary prerequisite to mend the treasonous past of the *traditores*; the Catholics argued otherwise on all of these points.⁷⁶ I have reduced the complexities of Donatism to single out those areas that Jerome could have associated with Priscillian. Four areas that serve Jerome's intent were: the concept of *traditores*; the illegitimacy of bishops; the sectarian nature of Donatism; and the role of Lucilla.

The denunciation of *traditores* leveled by the Donatists was a charge readily reversed by the Catholics and applied to all heretics. In the spiritual sense heretics have betrayed the sacred message that had been given to the Church, and they have chosen not to maintain the whole counsel of God. The Donatists were rebuked for calling themselves the 'True Church' and excluding all others who were not of their [true] fold. Donatism was meant by Jerome to force this message: the Priscillianists are traitors of the faith who have falsely passed themselves off as the true heirs of apostolic teaching.

The second issue in Donatism focused upon the legitimacy of bishops. The posture of the Donatists rejected *in toto* the ecclesiastical structure of the Catholics, for that matter of any other church as well. A major episode in Priscillian's career was his consecration as

⁷⁵ "Donatus, per Africam ut infelices quosque fetentibus pollueret aquis, Lucillae opibus adiutus est", *Ep.* 133.4, *CSEL* 56, p. 248. Consult also, Augustine, *Contra Litteras Petiliani Libri Tres* 1, *CSEL* 52, pp. 3-23. *S. Optati Milevitani Libri VII* 1, 16 20, *CSEL* 26, pp. 18 22.

⁷⁶ See the seminal study by W. H. C. Frend, *The Donatist Church*, 2nd ed. Oxford, 1971

bishop of Avila.⁷⁷ Priscillian was consecrated by bishops who had abandoned Catholic orthodoxy to pursue him as their leader. The emergence of a parallel Church, accompanied with its own episcopacy, was a major concern of Sulpicius Severus.⁷⁸ Priscillian could not claim any apostolic legitimacy as a bishop, nor could those who were consecrated by him, nor any self-styled successors after his death. Jerome would have Ctesiphon recall that the only succession these bishops belonged to was the pseudo-apostolic one inaugurated by Simon Magus. Jerome apparently really believed, in the spiritual sense, that there existed an anti-apostolic succession parallel to that of the Apostles. In both successions it is the Holy Spirit and the spirit of the Evil One that propagate them, respectively. Like the Donatists, the Priscillianists do not have a theological apostolic foundation to legitimize the existence or propagation of their church. Priscillian seemed to have required re-baptism, as the Donatists had done, but the canons of the First Council of Toledo (400) do not specify what distinguished the rite of baptism of the Priscillianists and Catholics.⁷⁹

An important corollary issue invoked in such debates between Catholics and heretics, before and after this era, has to do with the sectarian nature of heretics. Jerome deliberately mentioned Africa not just for geographical accuracy; rather, to draw attention to the parochial nature of this sect, which unlike the Catholics had a more limited following. In the final analysis, not a single heresy could claim universal acceptance, an argument frequently voiced by the Catholics. Jerome applied such a judgment to this local sect in Spain. Although Priscillian did claim a following in Gaul, the Priscillianists could never in good faith claim universal acceptance. The frequent allusions to St. Peter via Simon Magus, the reference to Rome, and the sectarianism of this sect that are couched in Jerome's letter were intended to pit Priscillian in opposition to the universal church, a position

⁷⁷ Sulpicius Severus, *Chron.* II, 47, *CSEL* 1, pp. 100–101.

⁷⁸ Sulpicius described graphically the deep division Priscillianism caused, even well after the execution: "At inter nostros perpetuum discordiarum bellum exarserat, quod iam per quindecim annos foedis dissensionibus agitatum nullo modo sopiri poterat", *Chron.* II, 51, *CSEL* 1, p. 105.

⁷⁹ The reference to baptism is in canon 18: "Si quis in his erroribus Priscilliani secta sequitur vel profitetur, ut aliud in salutare baptismi contra sedem sancti Petri faciat, anathema sit", *Concilios Visigóticos*, p. 28.

pressed increasingly by the bishops of Rome.⁸⁰ Finally, as with Arius and Constantia, Lucilla did not occupy a very significant place in the Donatist debate. We do know that she was a noble woman from Carthage and a strong supporter of the Donatists against the Catholics.⁸¹ Jerome did not fail to make the typological connection between Lucilla and the women who followed Priscillian.

Jerome finally focused upon the Iberian Peninsula, where “in Spain the blind woman Agape led the blind man Elpidius into the ditch”.⁸² There is a remarkable resemblance in this relationship with that of Apelles and Philumena. In this section, however, Jerome introduced some very interesting twists to the relationship between Agape and Priscillian. Agape, the woman, is the primary culprit who leads Elpidius astray into spiritual blindness, but there is more. Jerome also adds in what is a remarkable departure from his list of previous heretics *successoremque sui Priscillianum habuit*. If *habuit* has Agape as the subject then this makes Priscillian her successor, and this is the most likely reading according to Virginia Burrus.⁸³ Agape is culpable of deceiving both Elpidius and Priscillian. Agape’s alleged engendering of a successor in Priscillian provides the ‘type’ of a woman pretending to be a teacher of men and propagating spiritual offspring. At this point in the letter Jerome has reached the apogee of his narrative and Agape’s activity is the most damning evidence of heretical behavior, an indictment against Pelagian and Priscillianist women. Jerome gave Agape the principal credit for being a teacher of Priscillian as an example of the grossest violation of apostolic succession. Agape is also Jerome’s spiritual link to connect Priscillian with Marcus of Memphis. We also do not need to hold Jerome here to fostering an

⁸⁰ In the First Council of Braga (561), the bishops gathered specifically pointed out that Pope Leo I was [about or approximately -Latin -*fere*] the fortieth successor of St. Peter “beatissimus papa urbis Romae Leo, qui quadragesimus fere extitit apostoli Petri successor,” *Concilios Visigóticos*, p. 66. Also in canon 18 of the First Council of Toledo (400) it is expressed specifically that Priscillian is in direct opposition to St. Peter, *Concilios Visigóticos*, p. 28.

⁸¹ Lucilla is not reported at all by Filastrius of Brescia, Augustine, nor by Isidore of Seville. Filastrius devotes little space to the Donatists: *Diversarum hereseon liber* 83, CSEL 9, p. 253. Augustine’s entry on the Donatists is one of his lengthiest: *De haeresibus*, 69, CSEL 46, pp. 331–333. Isidore is very brief: *Etymologiarum* VIII, *De haeresibus Christianorum* 8.5.51, in *San Isidoro de Sevilla*, p. 698.

⁸² “In Hispania Agape Elpidium, mulier uirum, caecum caeca duxit in foueam,” *Ep.* 133.4, CSEL 56, p. 248.

⁸³ *Ep.* 133.4, CSEL 56, p. 248. See V. Burrus, *Making of a heresy*, pp. 210–211, note 90.

immediate succession from Agape; rather it seems to be a typological succession, just as Priscillian is a successor of all of the heretics in the list. Jerome brings this novel "succession" to an abrupt halt in his ensuing statement where he says that Priscillian engendered the woman Galla and in this fashion reestablishes the masculine succession. Jerome may have borrowed his information from Sulpicius Severus and the latter created a nexus between the Gnostics and Priscillian, a link that by his own admission was "not at all easy to explain".⁸⁴ According to Sulpicius, a Gnostic Marcus of Memphis was the first to introduce Gnosticism into the Iberian Peninsula, and Agape and Elpidius were his first pupils. They, in turn, were the teachers of Priscillian. Another unique aspect about them is that neither are found in any other heretical lists.

Of Agape and Elpidius we know nothing else, but of Marcus there is plenty in the patristic sources, and Jerome had already identified Marcus in his *Commentaries on Isaiah* (17.64.4–5) as the Gnostic heretic behind Agape. In a letter to Theodora, Jerome commented more about Marcus, citing Irenaeus as his major source. He erroneously called Marcus a disciple of Basilides. In the remainder of his exposition Jerome was consistent with the previous commentaries on Marcus. Jerome accused Marcus of misleading unlearned men and high-born women, and of engaging in unlawful intercourse.⁸⁵ The *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles* called Marcus a spiritual successor of Simon Magus and Hippolytus reports that Marcus even allowed women to offer up the Eucharist.⁸⁶ For Jerome's purpose Marcus

⁸⁴ "Qui quidem et partem habent Gnosticae haereseos de Basilidis inpietate uenientem", *Ep.* 133.3, *CSEL* 56, p. 245. Here Jerome seems to be drawing directly from Sulpicius Severus who attributed the arrival of Gnosticism not to Marcus of Memphis but to Priscillian's teachers Agape, and Elpidius. See *Chron.* II, 46, *CSEL* 1, pp. 99–100.

⁸⁵ "Quod Marcus quidam de Basilidis Gnostici stirpe descendens primum ad Gallias uenient . . . maximeque nobiles feminas quaedam in occulto mysteria repromittens hoc errore seduxerit magicis artibus et secreta corporum uoluptate amorem sui concilians", *Ep.* 75, 3, *CSEL* 55, p. 72. Again, the primary source for the entire tradition was Irenaeus. *Contra haereses*, 1.13–15, *SC* 264, pp. 188–253. See also Epiphanius, *Panarion haer.* 34, *GCS* 2, pp. 5–39.

⁸⁶ 6.8.1, *SC* 329, pp. 316–317. Hippolytus, *Refutatio omnium haeresium*, 6.40, *GCS* 3, pp. 171–172. Eusebius added to all of these deviant practices the charge that Marcus was remarkably skilled in magic arts, *HE*, 4.11.4, *SC* 31, p. 174. Isidore of Seville in *De uiris illustribus* mentioned Marcus specifically in his entry on Priscillian, whereas Filastrius of Brescia, Augustine, and Pseudo-Tertullian did not contribute any novelties on Marcus: *De uiris illustribus*, C. Codoñer Merino (ed.) p. 135. Filastrius of Brescia, *Diversarum hereseon liber*, 42, *CCSL* 9, p. 235. Augustine, *De haeresibus* 14;

confirms the illicit sexual behavior of heretics, the sexually loose women heretics tend to attract, the seduction of weak-minded uneducated men, and lastly but no less important, the unbroken succession with Simon Magus.

The reference to Marcus is not without its problems as Virginia Burrus alerts us. Jerome links Priscillian with the Marcus identified by Irenaeus in several places. Sulpicius made a similar connection identifying Marcus as the originator of Gnosticism in the Iberian Peninsula, yet he does not say that Marcus taught Priscillian directly.⁸⁷ Recall that Agape and Elpidius were taught by Marcus according to Sulpicius. Some scholars have argued back and forth on the question whether there are indeed two traditions of Marcus; the one of Irenaeus, and the one described by Jerome and Sulpicius.⁸⁸ The problem seems to be exarcebated, I believe, by an insistence on a strict literal reading of the chronology in these passages. Jerome is creating in the letter and elsewhere typological spiritual links with previous heretics and this is especially true in the case of Marcus of Memphis, as Virginia Burrus notes, Jerome was intent on creating a “gnosticized portrait of Priscillian”.⁸⁹ This liberty is evident in his *Commentaries on Isaiah* where he quotes Irenaeus regarding Marcus’s activity in Gaul, but Jerome extends it into Iberia as well.⁹⁰ The use of typological rhetoric and arguments allows for such flexibility and is not necessarily to be dismissed as only willful distortion, although it was not beneath Jerome to exaggerate or invent details. Sulpicius offers a working chronology and links which Jerome greatly exploits in the letter.

Since Jerome had already acknowledged the connection between Marcus and Agape he did not need to repeat it in rote fashion in the letter because he had a different agenda here. Jerome wanted a female Gnostic culprit identified with Priscillian in the list and Agape was that person. Jerome was not thinking in absolute chronological fashion; he was thinking of spiritual typological connections.

CCSL 46, p. 296. The Pseudo-Tertullian, *Adversus omnes haereses*, focused only on doctrinal error: CCSL 2.2 pp. 1407–1408.

⁸⁷ *Ep.* 133.4, CSEL 56, p. 248. V. Burrus, *Making of a heresy*, pp. 200–201, note 52.

⁸⁸ V. Burrus, *Making of a heresy*, pp. 189–191, note 13.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

⁹⁰ *Commentariorum in Esaiam*, CCSL 73A, Pars 1, 2A, p. 735. See note 86 above. V. Burrus, *Making of a heresy*, p. 191, note 12.

In the concluding entry Jerome reported that Priscillian, was a zealous devotee of a magician of Zoroaster and became a bishop through him.⁹¹ The censure of Zoroastrianism associated Priscillian directly with the magical arts. Jerome's fixation on Priscillian's fascination with magic and magicians is well-founded, or at least consistent with other testimony, whereas no other writer attaches explicitly Zoroastrianism to Priscillian. The brief reference to Zoroaster is another example of the literary freedom Jerome indulged in to attack the Priscillianists. As I have stated before, a literalistic pursuit of the minute facts, strict chronology, and exact descriptions of practices matter little in this style of polemic. Jerome wants to associate Priscillian with magic: Why not with one of the most notorious magicians, Zoroaster? Noteworthy in the entry is Jerome's condemnation of Priscillian's ordination as a bishop which he says was the work of a Zoroastrian bishop.

The accusation of the magical occultic background of Priscillian was one of several essential offenses that permitted the Emperor Maximus to arrest, try, and execute Priscillian at Trier in 385. Jerome, therefore, boasted with self-righteous indignation that the "whole world" justly punished Priscillian by death with the secular sword. That Priscillian was rejected by all of the major ecclesiastics of his day and that he was put to death is absolutely true, but Jerome deliberately chose not to mention their unanimous opposition to the execution.⁹²

⁹¹ *Ep.* 133.4, *CSEL* 56, p. 248; V. Burrus, *Making of a heresy*, p. 209.

⁹² *Chron.* II, 48, *CSEL* 1, p. 101. Martin of Tours, Pope Damasus, and Ambrose of Milan condemned the audacious behavior of the Emperor. Martin of Tours even implored the Emperor not to shed blood. According to Sulpicius, the Emperor delayed the trial until the aging Martin of Tours had passed away. "Namque tum Martinus apud Treueros constitutus non desinebat increpare Ithacium, ut ab accusatione desisteret, Maximum orare, ut sanguine infelicium abstinere, satis superque sufficere, ut episcopali sententia haeretici iudicati ecclesiis pellerentur: saeuum esse et inauditum nefas, ut causam ecclesiae iudex saeculi iudicaret. denique quo ad usque Martinus Treueris fuit, dilata cognitio est: et mox discessurus egeria auctoritate a Maximo elicit sponsonem, nihil cruentum in reos constituendum". *Chron.* II, 50, *CSEL* 1, p. 103. Pope Leo I, in like manner as Jerome, spoke uncritically of Priscillian's execution, nor did he even hint about the uproar against these unfortunate events by the leading members of the Church in that era, *Ep.* 15, *praef.*, *PL* 54, c. 679. Sulpicius expresses his disgust of Hidacius and Ithacius, Priscillian's main accusers, *Chron.* II, 50, *CSEL* 1, p. 103. Ambrose voiced similar outrage, *Ep.* 30 (Maur. 24) 12, in *Sancti Ambrosii Opera, pars decima. Epistulae et Acta*, Tom. I. *Epistularum Libri I-VI*, *CSEL* 82, 1, pp. 214-215 and also in *Ep.* 68 (Maur 26), *CSEL* 82, 2, pp. 169-178.

Of Galla and the sister we know absolutely nothing else. What Jerome mentions here is all that we possess, for they are absent in the entire corpus of sources. As with Marcus the exact meaning of the phrase, *Galla non gente sed nomine germanam huc illucque currentem alterius et vicinae haereseos reliquit haeredom* has been the source of much discussion. The word seems to refer to a Gallic woman that formed part of the band of women that followed Priscillian in Gaul. In either case, whether the citation refers to a specific woman Galla or a generic group from Gaul, Jerome is still able to accomplish his overall purposes.⁹³ The Gallic woman and the sister that perpetuate heresy have all of the heretical characteristics of Agape and is once again a visible manifestation of Priscillian's spiritual fruit. He was not only taught and deceived by Agape, Priscillian now deceives a 'woman' or 'women', and they in turn take the initiative to propagate heresy. Just what the second heresy of kindred form was is also unknown, for Jerome does not explicitly expound, presumably we can infer a version of the teachings of Priscillianism. I maintain that one of Jerome's messages here is to affirm the continued proliferation of heretical teachings, for he closed the letter with 2 *Thessalonians* 2:7: "Now also the mystery of iniquity is working", a forceful affirmation that the spirit of Simon Magus was alive and in Priscillian. It was Vincent of Lérins who expressed this thought so well: *a quo vetus ille turpitudinum gurgis usque in novissimum Priscillianum continua et occulta successione manavit*. (From whom the old stream of disgrace [heresy] flows and persists in uninterrupted and secret succession in the most recent [heretic], Priscillian.)⁹⁴

⁹³ "Et uicinae hereseos reliquit heredem", *Ep.* 133.4, *CSEL* 56, p. 248. Sulpicius Severus identified two women named Euchrotia and her daughter Procula, but not one by the name Galla. V. Burrus, *Making of a heresy*, p. 211, notes 91 and 92. See also pp. 211–212 where the author argues that the reference to Galla is to a proper name following Ferdinand Cavallera, "Galla non gente sed nomine", *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* 38 (1937), pp. 186–190. For relevant bibliography on Galla see, M.-J. Rondeau, "D'une édition", pp. 180–181 and Paul Devos, "Date du voyage d'Égérie", pp. 180–181. Also H. Chadwick, *Priscillian of Avila*, pp. 37–38. The consensus seems to be that Galla is a proper name. I concur on the grounds that it is consistent with Jerome's identification of specific proper names in his list, with one exception, the anonymous woman he associated with Marcion.

⁹⁴ *Commonitorium*, *CCSL* 64, p. 181.

Conclusion

The letter to Ctesiphon as a source of Priscillianism has numerous limitations. Jerome's principal agenda is to launch an attack on Pelagians and not the Priscillianist sect directly. On account of its polemical intent the letter is filled with typological language that does not necessarily contain an accurate portrayal of the Priscillianists. Jerome's selective use of patristic sources, his limited firsthand acquaintance with the sect, and not the least his inflammatory rhetoric casts serious doubts on the veracity of the moral and doctrinal lapses he attributes to the Priscillianists.

The letter also sheds light on Jerome's attitude towards women. The heretical women represent 'typologically' behavior unbecoming of orthodox women. Each of them embody various aspects of a negative feminine tradition; for example: Helena and the Bands of Women are the originating types of doctrinal/sexual depravity. Marcion's unidentified woman is guilty of seducing others at Rome, while Constantia and Lucilla engage in similar sinister activities behind the scenes. Philumena and Prisca/Maximilla are excellent examples of demonically seduced women who believe God is speaking through them in prophetic fashion. They also falsely imitate the apostolic duties of legitimate bishops. Agape seems to personify the most damnable example of a woman 'out of place' as she audaciously teaches Priscillian and pretends to perpetuate a legitimate succession of apostolic truth. Jerome, in a sense, left the best for last in Agape, a Gnostic woman as the quintessential exemplar of the female heretic. Galla and the sister, encouraged by Priscillian, are presented by Jerome of perpetuating heresy freely without any seeming reliance [submission] on male authority. Jerome presented to Ctesiphon a 'hall of fame' of women clearly out of place in the Church, and his warning is that Pelagius and his female followers, like the Priscillianists, have overstepped the acceptable boundaries of orthodox definitions of the role of women.

The men paraded by Jerome from Simon Magus down to Elpidius, all represent typologically moral and doctrinal behavior associated with the Priscillianists. Simon and Nicolas are responsible for giving 'birth', so to speak, to the doctrinal and moral errors of all heretics. Marcion reminds the reader of Priscillian's appetite for non-canonical books. With Apelles and Montanus Jerome continued the theme of extra-biblical revelation which he wants to associate with all heretics,

especially Pelagius and Priscillian. Arius the most well known heretic in Jerome's day is creatively associated with Priscillian in so far as Trinitarian errors are concerned. Donatus is a fine example Jerome employs to bring to the surface the parochial nature of *all* heretics who cannot claim the universal proliferation of the Catholics, and Priscillian similarly is guilty of perpetuating doctrines in a 'corner' of the world. Elpidius exemplifies a weak male seduced by a Gnostic woman who in his blindness, along with Agape, deceives Priscillian, a clear expression of the 'blind leading the blind'.

The letter to Ctesiphon is useful as an example of the polemical style of Jerome. It also reveals his mastery and selective use of patristic sources. As a Priscillianist document Jerome's treatment is rather unique in that he established extensive 'typological' heretical links between Priscillian and previous heresies. What Jerome does not confirm is the moral and doctrinal error of Priscillian, rather in rote fashion he repeats the ubiquitous negative rumors about the sect.

CHAPTER SIX

PRISCILLIAN AND NICOLAITISM

Priscillian was censured of both doctrinal heresy and sexual immorality by his accusers. On the question of his alleged sexual exploits, this issue merits a closer look than has been previously done by modern researchers. Some scholars believe the conciliar decrees of the Iberian Peninsula regarding relations between men and women are a response, directly and indirectly, to illicit relations in Priscillianist circles.¹ It is further argued that these decrees reflect an episcopal attempt to bring women into greater submission to men within and outside of Priscillianist groups.² There has been, moreover, some discord among some researchers as to whether Priscillian was ever accused of Nicolaitism.³ There are, however, other pressing questions that I will explore in this article that will shed light on these concerns in Priscillian scholarship. Specifically, my agenda is: (a) to identify precisely in the anti-Priscillian literature which writers were responsible for accusing Priscillian and his followers of sexual immorality; (b) In the same vein, to engage any evidence which identifies whether Nicolaitism was ever attributed to Priscillianists; and (c), Lastly, to distinguish between rumor based misinformation about sexual libertarianism as opposed to what was actually decreed officially in conciliar legislation.

¹ V. Burrus, *The Making of a Heretic: Gender, Authority, and the Priscillianist Controversy*. University of California Press, 1995. For the councils I am using J. Vives (et al.), *Concilios Visigóticos e Hispano-Romanos*. Barcelona-Madrid, 1963. [Hereafter Vives, *CV*.] See also the important commentary on the councils by J. Orlandis and Domingo Ramos-Issón *Historia de los Concilios de la España Romana y Visigoda*. Pamplona, 1986, pp. 65–100 and 137–150. For an overview with novel insights see, Raymond Van Dam, *Leadership and Community in Late Antique Gaul*. University of California Press, 1985, pp. 88–114.

² Burrus, *Making of a Heretic*, pp. 109–114.

³ H. Chadwick, *Priscillian of Avila. The occult and the charismatic in the Early Church*. Oxford, 1976, p. 168, believes that Bachiarus was rejecting a charge of Nicolaitism in his rebuff of Priscillianism. Burrus, *Making of a Heretic*, p. 58 and p. 193, note 62, does not seem to agree.

A fundamental matter that needs to be addressed is whether sexual immorality and Nicolaitism were already identified as a *topos* in the fourth century. It was most certainly already in development in the first century and in the ensuing medieval centuries; but reading sources forward or backward to the fourth century runs the hazard of anachronism. The one source at the latter stages of the Priscillianist controversy, one dating after his execution, is Jerome's *Letter* 133 to Ctesiphon (dated 415) wherein he associated Priscillianists with Nicolaitism through typological figuration.⁴ Was Jerome, however, creating for the first time this connection or was he reaffirming and perpetuating more specifically by way of a *topos* an already pervasive rumor about Priscillianist sexual immorality?

The affinity of Nicolaitism with sexual immorality precedes Jerome and it originated more precisely with Irenaeus of Lyons and Clement of Alexandria.⁵ Both Greek Fathers agreed that the sect of the Nicolaitans, which did flourish in their time, was directly founded by the New Testament Nicolas of Antioch (Acts 6:5–6 and Revelation 2:6 and 14–15). While Irenaeus accused the Nicolaitans of immorality in imitation of their founder, Clement denounced them of discrediting the reputation of Nicolas who would never have condoned their behavior.⁶ Disagreements aside, Irenaeus and Clement provide evidence that Nicolaitism was already a *topos* associated primarily with sexual depravity. Following the opinions of Irenaeus, subsequent Church Fathers such as Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Epiphanius of Salamis elaborated negatively upon an already tarnished image of Nicolas of Antioch.⁷ Hippolytus, relying heavily on Irenaeus, further accused Nicolas of spiritually engendering a variety of Gnostic groups.⁸

⁴ See Ferreira, "Jerome's polemic against Priscillian in his *Letter* to Ctesiphon (133,4)." *Revue des Etudes Augustiniennes* 39,2 (1993) 309–332.

⁵ Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* 1, 26.3. in *Contre les hérésies*. Livre 1.2, (eds.) A. Rousseau and L. Doutreleau. Sources chrétiennes (= SC), 264. Paris, 1979, pp. 348–349. Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* III, Cap. IV. *Die griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller*. 2 Band, (ed.) O. Stählin, Leipzig, 1906, I, pp. 207–208.

⁶ See the discussion by K. A. Fox, "The Nicolaitans, Nicolaus and the early Church," *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses* 23,4 (1994) 485–496, at 490–493. For a full inventory of patristic sources on Nicolaitism see, É. Amann, "Nicolaites," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* 11,1 (1931) cols. 499–506.

⁷ Theodoret, *Haer. Fab. Comp* 3.1, PG 83:402. Epiphanius, *Panarion* 25, in F. Williams (trans.) *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis*. Leiden, 1987, pp. 77–82. See the discussion in Fox, "Nicolaitans," pp. 491–492.

⁸ Hippolytus, *Refutation of all Heresies (Philosophumena)* 7.36, in *Die griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller* 3 Band, (ed.) P. Wendland. Leipzig, 1916, pp. 222–223. See also Fox, "Nicolaitans," pp. 494–495.

Fundamentally important in these discussions was the practice by post-apostolic Catholics and Gnostics to establish the apostolic legitimacy of their respective communities of faith. K. A. Fox makes a valid observation that Gnostics sought to validate their teachings, mainly to counter Catholic attacks, by identifying their founder as an apostle or someone closely associated with them.⁹ Likewise, I am in full agreement that it is indeed very doubtful that the Nicolaitans were "Gnostics" already in the first century, contrary to the claims of Irenaeus and Clement.¹⁰ Moreover, when considering the late second century and beyond, it is rather certain that Nicolaitism did not any longer exist as an actual organized sect. By the time Irenaeus's generation was writing the *topos* of Nicolaitism was already developed enough to be harnessed to condemn individuals or groups for alleged sexual immorality. At what precise year or decade did the sect of the Nicolaitans dissolve we can not ascertain.

In the western Mediterranean, fourth century Priscillianists became the target of Nicolaitan accusations, as testified in both Catholic and Priscillianist sources. These documents which we will now engage I have organized for this study into two main groups. The first, are those where Nicolaitans are explicitly mentioned; while the second constitutes texts which speak of sexual immorality without any specific typological intent. I have also made one additional distinction in these two main groups; those written within the Iberian Peninsula and those of external provenance.

The only clear mention of Nicolaitism interestingly comes from writers closest to the Priscillianists. The first is Bachiarus who in *De Fide*, which he wrote to clear himself of any heretical suspicion, voiced his own rejection of Nicolaitism: *Nicolao diacono in haeresim declinante, gloriosa collectorum fratrum in virtutibus Dei opera refulserunt*.¹¹ It is safe to infer that Bachiarus was responding to an explicit charge of sexual immorality associated with the Priscillianists, but one based more on oral transmission (rumor and gossip) and not reflecting any conciliar condemnation, as I will demonstrate below. The phrase *Nicolao diacono in haeresim declinante* echoes the Irenaeus tradition that Nicolas the deacon fell into apostasy and sexual immorality after the apostles had consecrated him at Jerusalem. Whatever doctrinal teachings the

⁹ Fox, "Nicolaitans," pp. 493-494.

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 495-496.

¹¹ Bachiarus, *De Fide*, PL 20:1020-1021. See Chadwick, *Priscillian*, p. 168.

Nicolaitans had initially were subsequently set aside by fourth century polemicists, once a sect ceased to exist. As a consequence, the alleged sexual immorality of Nicolaitans became the single focus of the emerging *topos*. Typological parallels were made of Priscillian of Avila: he had at one time been appointed a bishop in succession of the apostles, he apostatized and fell into doctrinal and moral error, as had done Nicolas. This tradition of Priscillian is most clearly expressed in the *Chronica* of Sulpicius Severus, although he never outright called Priscillian a Nicolaitan. We shall turn to this text below.¹²

In this brief reference, then, Bachiarus does indeed lend credence that at the very least rumors circulated about Priscillian's alleged immorality. He still, nevertheless, did not elaborate in *De Fide* upon the matter nor did he seize the opportunity to label the Priscillianists as Nicolaitans.

There are two important Nicolaitan passages in the *Tractates* of Priscillian [or written by his followers] which reveal their own need to address and refute this association. The first text reads:

Anathema autem sit doctrina Nicholaitarum partemque cum Sodoma habeat et Gomora quisque odibilia deo sacrilegia aut instituit aut sequitur.¹³

The imagery of Sodom and Gomorrah effectively brings to the surface every form of sexual deviancy. The second passage issues a second refutation:

Anathema sit qui Nicolaitarum fornicationes et multimoda ostenda in scribentis cum discipulis et doctoribus suis daemonia non damnat uel qui eorum opera sectantur.¹⁴

Here the authors denounce those who do not condemn the false teachings and lack of morals of the Nicolaitans. As if that were not enough their immorality is also presented as being inspired by demons.

The apparent rumors about sexual depravity among Priscillianists compelled the authors of the *Tractates* to distance themselves unequivocally and they did so by expressing an absolute clear refutation of

¹² Sulpicius Severus, *Chronica* chaps. 47, 48, and 50, *CSEL*, 1, Vindobonae, 1866, pp. 100–103. See also the translation in Schaff and Wace, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 11. Eerdmans, 1894, pp. 119–122.

¹⁴ Priscillian, *Tractatus* I, 6, 23–26. *CSEL*, 18 Vindobonae, 1889, p. 7. Van Dam, *Leadership and Community*, p. 95 note 33 on Priscillian's refutation of heresy.

¹¹ Ibid., *Tractatus* I, 27, 4–7, p. 23

Nicolaitism. As in the case of Bachiarus, the authors of the *Tractates* utilized Nicolaitism as a *topos* in their favor to denounce the evident charge of moral depravity, especially through the Sodom and Gomorrah image and its alleged demonic inspiration. What is also revealing about these two passages is their lack of extended commentary. This becomes more so evident when set against the larger concerns of the *Tractates*. Priscillian and his collaborators devoted far more ink to answer the weightier accusation of being Gnostics and Manichaeans, among other matters. When it comes to sexual deviancy, one gets the impression from the *Tractates* that the issue, although not one that could be ignored altogether, certainly did not figure as a top priority item in response to the Catholic bishops who opposed them.

Here I would like to raise the question, which I will now discuss, as to what extent the Catholic bishops focused their polemic on alleged deviant sex among the Priscillianists. The most forceful rep-primands of Priscillian were publicly issued in conciliar decrees at several provincial councils convened in the Iberian Peninsula throughout this rather lengthy ordeal. It is imperative to ascertain how many of the conciliar decrees address the sexual depravity of Priscillianists, and if the bishops gathered in council ever outright accused them of Nicolaitism.

The first provincial gathering of bishops that concerns itself with practices which may have addressed Priscillianists is the Council of Zaragoza (380) that has attracted modern scholarly scrutiny.¹⁵ The bishops, however, gathered at Zaragoza do not mention Priscillian or his followers by name, at least in the version of the *Acta* that has come down to us. Priscillianists, undoubtedly, were included generally speaking in the warnings which the council issued to address the wider Catholic community of faith. The council, however, was not a meeting held to deal first and foremost with Priscillianism. All of this changed, of course, in the next two decades with the proliferation of Priscillianism in greater Hispania, Gaul, and Lusitania.

¹⁵ See the published proceedings on the Council of Zaragoza in *I Concilio Caesaraugustano, MDC Aniversario*. Zaragoza, 1981. See the related discussions in, Chadwick, *Priscillian*, pp. 211–212; Orlandis and Ramos-Lissón, *Historia de los Concilios*, pp. 68–80. For the text see, Vives, *CV*, pp. 16–18. Burrus, *Making of a Heretic*, pp. 25–46 and Van Dam, *Leadership and Community*, p. 88 note 2 on the precarious nature of the council as a source for understanding Priscillianism.

What exactly, then, do the canons of the Council of Zaragoza engage that would have any bearing directly or indirectly on the alleged sexual deviancy of Priscillianists?

Canon 1 of the Council of Zaragoza stipulates that women should not be allowed to meet with men who have no direct family ties. Most scholars agree the prohibition is a broad correction of ascetic groups which were found in both Catholic circles and those on the edges of orthodoxy, such as Priscillianists.¹⁶ Canon 8 has been the source of even greater disagreement among scholars on the question whether the bishops had the Priscillianists in mind. In any case, even if this canon was intended to single out Priscillianists, it still does not in any strong way castigate immoral behavior.¹⁷ What is striking about this council is the absence of any reference whatsoever to Priscillian's alleged sexual immorality.

At the First Council of Toledo (400), even more surprisingly so, which convened in the midst of the apogee of Priscillianism, hardly at all addressed concerns over illicit relationships between women and men. Canon 16, dealing mainly with a Gnostic agenda, accused Priscillianists of rejecting marriage on the grounds that it encourages procreation.¹⁸ It also prohibits the Priscillianist practice of the segregated coming together of men and women in private homes. Incidentally, Augustine and Filastrius of Brescia recall and condemn the Priscillianist practice of separating spouses upon entry into the movement. Consentius's *Letters* to Augustine focus their critique of Priscillian primarily to magic.¹⁹ These latter writers simply restated

¹⁶ Ut mulieres omnes ecclesiae catholicae et fideles a virorum alienorum lectione et coetibus separentur, vel ad ipsas legentes aliae studio vel docendi vel discendi conveniant, quoniam hoc Apostolus iubet. Ab universis episcopis dictum est: Anathema futuros qui hanc concilii sententiam non observaverint. Vives, *CV*, p. 16. F. Rodríguez, "Concilio I de Zaragoza. Texto crítico," *Concilio Caesaraugustano*, pp. 9–25. See also, Orlandis and Ramos-Lissón, *Historia de los Concilios*, on Canon 1, pp. 72–73. A dissenting view is in Burrus, *Making of a Heretic*, p. 43, also at 33–35 on Canon 1.

¹⁷ Item lectum est: Non velandas esse virgines, quae se Deo voverint, nisi quadraginta annorum probata aetate, quam sacerdos conprobaverit. Ab universis episcopis dictum est: Placet, Vives, *CV*, p. 18. See Burrus, *Making of a Heretic*, pp. 40–42. Orlandis and Ramos-Lissón, *Historia de los Concilios*, p. 74. M. Sotomayor, "Sobre el canon VIII del Concilio de Zaragoza del 380," *Concilio Caesaraugustano*, pp. 255–271.

¹⁸ Si quis dixerit vel crediderit coniugia hominum, quae secundum legem divinam licita habentur, execrabilia esse, anathema sit, Vives, *CV*, p. 28. Burrus, *Making of a Heretic*, p. 114. Van Dam, *Leadership and Community*, pp. 109–111.

¹⁹ Augustine, *De haeresibus*, 5 and 70, *CCSL*, 46. Turnholti, 1979, pp. 333–334. See the commentary by L. G. Müller, *The "De Haeresibus" of Saint Augustine* (ed. &

and depended upon the conciliar decrees adding nothing new, and they were not speaking from direct experience.

The separation of spouses, understandably, lent itself to rumors of immorality, even though this was also a common practice among emerging Catholic ascetical groups. Since by the latter fourth century Priscillian had been blacklisted a heretic everything he did or said was interpreted in the worst possible light. Consistent with the conciliar decrees, Augustine and Filastrus did not avail themselves of the opportunity in their heresiological works to expound upon any alleged sexual deviancy. Telling, however, is the absence of a litany of charges by the bishops of adultery, fornication, homosexuality, bestiality, and orgies at this council which otherwise devoted significant attention to Priscillian's teachings.

The First Council of Braga (561) in Canon 11 reissued the same censure of Canon 16 of Toledo I, but couched within an anti-Manichean rebuke.²⁰ Canon 12 of Braga I denounced Priscillian for teaching that the human body and fetus were the marks of the devil and demons. That this alleged teaching contained a disturbing deviation from Catholic doctrine regarding Christ's human birth through Mary and his own bodily resurrection is reflected in the anathema of Canon 10 in Toledo I.²¹ Canon 15 revisited the problem raised at Zaragoza in Canon 1, one that was reaffirmed in several subsequent Iberian councils.²² At Braga I, however, the bishops condemned the novel practice of "adopting" women by men which

trans.) Catholic University of America Patristic Studies, 90. CUA Press, 1956, pp. 64-67 and 110-113. Filastrus, *Diversarum Hereseon Liber*, 33 and 84, *CCSL*, 9. Turnholt, 1957, pp. 231-232 and 253-254. See Chadwick, *Priscillian*, p. 212. For Consentius see Van Dam, *Leadership and Community*, pp. 111-112, *Ibid.*, "Sheep in Wolves' Clothing": the Letters of Consentius to Augustine," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 37 (1986) 515-535.

²⁰ Si quis coniugia humana damnat et procreationem nascentium perhorrescit, sicut Manicheus et Priscillianus dixerunt, anathema sit, Vives, *CV*, p. 68, Chadwick, *Priscillian*, p. 225. Orlandis and Ramos-Lissón, *Historia de los Concilios*, p. 143.

²¹ Si quis plasmationem humani corporis diaboli dicit esse figmentum et conceptiones in utero matrum operibus dicit daemonum figurari propter quod et resurrectionem carnis non credit, sicut Manicheus et Priscillianus dixerunt, anathema sit, Vives, *CV*, p. 68. Orlandis and Ramos-Lissón, *Historia de los Concilios*, p. 143.

²² Si quis clericorum vel monachorum praeter matrem aut germanam vel thiam vel quae proxima sibi consanguinitate iunguntur alias aliquas quasi adoptivas faeminas secum retinent et cum ipsis cohabitant, sicut Priscilliani secta docuit, anathema sit, Vives, *CV*, p. 69. For the conciliar references see, Orlandis and Ramos-Lissón, *Historia de los Concilios*, p. 143, note 32.

the Priscillianists had developed to fulfill the earlier requirement of women having family ties to the men at their gatherings. In view of this activity, if indeed it was correctly understood by the bishops, it is rather easy to comprehend why rumors about immoral behavior continued to circulate and became a part of the opposition.²³ Having said all of this, no conciliar decree at Zaragoza, Toledo I, and Braga I condemns explicitly the morality of the Priscillianists nor does Nicolaitism surface even as a *topos*. The conciliar canons of Braga I reveal the major focus to be upon doctrinal errors wherein Priscillian is labeled a Gnostic, Manichaean, Sabellian, and more besides. On the fluid use of such labels Van Dam astutely notes that, "Yet a fundamental ambiguity was also a part of this inheritance, not the least because, as we saw with accusations of Manichaeism, accusations of Priscillianism could be applied rather indiscriminately."²⁴

Of the literary sources originating from the Iberian Peninsula only Apringius of Beja, a contemporary of Priscillian, Turibius of Astorga, who wrote a letter to Pope Leo I requesting his views about Priscillian, and Isidore of Seville, who flourished long after the movement had dissipated, occupied themselves respectively with Nicolaitism, moral issues, and Priscillianism.

Apringius of Beja in two places of his *Commentatio in Apocalypsin* identified the Nicolaitans and condemns them predictably as heretics. Nowhere, however, did he associate the sect, even as a *topos*, with the Priscillianists nor any other specific heretical group.²⁵ We do not possess the actual letter of Turibius of Astorga to Pope Leo I, but the lengthy reply by the pope allows us to reconstruct what the bishop of Astorga inquired about. Only three of the Pope's comments condemn Priscillian's teaching against marriage and procreation in the Introduction; cap. VII, and cap. XVI.²⁶ The pope, furthermore,

²³ See Chadwick, *Priscillian*, pp. 225–226.

²⁴ Not a single specific heresy is mentioned in the *Acta* of the Council of Zaragoza or Toledo I. At Braga I a variety of labels surface in the canons against Priscillian: Gnostic (canon 2, p. 67) Sabellian (canon 1, p. 67) Paul of Samosata and Photinus (canon 3, p. 67) Cerdon and Marcion (canon 4, pp. 67–68) and Manichaean (canons 4, 5, 7, 11, 12, 13, and 14, pp. 67–69). Van Dam, *Leadership and Community*, p. 110.

²⁵ See the new edition by A. del Campo Hernández, *Comentario al Apocalipsis de Apringio de Beja*. Institución San Jerónimo, 25. Estella (Navarra): Editorial Verbo Divino, 1991.

²⁶ Pope Leo I, *Epistola 15*, *PL* 54, cols. 678–695. See Van Dam, *Leadership and Community*, pp. 113–114 where he expresses serious reservations about the accuracy of the pope's description of Priscillianism.

endorsing the Peninsular conciliar decrees added that these doctrines gave the Priscillianists a license to lewdness.²⁷ He then made the interesting observation that the "widely published" reports about their immorality made them like the Manichaeans.²⁸ If the pope's comments are a reflection of the level of concern by Turibius on this matter they reveal a low priority of preoccupation. That is, within the framework of the pope's lengthy letter, the morality of Priscillian was hardly touched upon, not even meriting an invocation of Nicolaitism.

Before dealing with Isidore of Seville, Pope Leo's reference to the "widely published" reports regarding immorality deserves closer inspection. Who or what, then, is the principal source of information spreading the belief about promiscuous Priscillianists? To answer this question we need to examine writers external to the Iberian Peninsula who wrote against Priscillian, namely Sulpicius Severus and Jerome.

In light of what I have already established earlier in this paper the pope can not be referring to any known published tracts or conciliar decrees from the Iberian Peninsula. He may be very likely identifying here the ubiquitous word of mouth misinformation that circulated in corollary fashion with the more concrete written denunciations. There is also the possibility the word of mouth, insinuated or otherwise, information reached the pope in more tangible fashion through the pen of Sulpicius Severus, who in his *Chronica* explicitly elaborated Priscillian's doubtful morality.

Sulpicius Severus is without question the only source that we possess which details some of Priscillian's alleged moral lapses.²⁹ His portrait of Priscillian gathers in one place the repeated accusations of Gnosticism and Manichaeism. Central to our concerns he also put into writing in the *Chronica* the oral based rumors of Priscillian's sexual exploits.³⁰ The *Chronica*, then, may well indeed be the source which

²⁷ *Ep.* 15, 7, *PL* 54, cols 683-684.

²⁸ *Ep.* 15, 16, *PL* 54, col. 689.

²⁹ *Chronica*, II, caps. 40 and 50, pp. 101 and 103.

³⁰ Instantius et Saluianus damnati iudicio sacerdotum Priscillianum etiam laicum, sed principem malorum omnium, una secum Caesaraugustana synodo notatum ad confirmandas vires suas episcopum in Abilensi oppido constituunt (chap. 47).

Inde iter coeptum ingressi, turpi sane pudibundoque comitatu, cum uxoribus atque alienis etiam feminis, in quis erat Euchrotia ac filia eius Procula, de qua fuit in sermone hominum Priscilliani stupro grauidam partum sibi graminibus abegisse (chap. 48).

Pope Leo had access to and refers to in *Letter* 15. There is also the very likely possibility that his "widely published" comment refers not to any written work, but rather to the oral tradition I have already identified. Lastly, in view of his comments, the fact that the *topos* of Nicolaitism never appears in the *Chronica* should not be of concern. It was hardly necessary for Sulpicius to invoke the *topos* to get his point across.

In 415 Jerome wrote his *Letter* (133) to a Ctesiphon in order to warn him about the Pelagians, but in the process he also created an imaginative typological diatribe against Priscillian. In a detailed study of a section of this letter (133, 4), which I carried out recently, I identified a heresiarchic typological list intended by Jerome to connect Priscillian with Simon Magus and his "successors."³¹ Among these successors which Jerome associated with Priscillian through typology is Nicolas of Antioch. What is even more fascinating is Jerome's creation with the list of male heretics a parallel list of women heretics. Nicolas of Antioch is aligned by Jerome with "bands of women" which carries with it the images of orgies, adultery, fornication and related sexual practices.³² The overall purpose of the list is to present Priscillian and his followers as embodying the errors, doctrinal and moral, of all previous heretics. Put another way, Priscillianists are Nicolaitans because they too indulge in sexual depravity. Aside from Bacharius and Priscillian this is our only source that intimates Priscillian directly with Nicolaitism.

It is prudent to ask: How reliable are Sulpicius and Jerome in their reports about Priscillian? I concur with the consensus that neither Sulpicius or Jerome had any substantial or accurate, direct understanding of Priscillian and his doctrines.³³ Moreover, both writers were geographically distant from the Iberian Peninsula and there-

Is Priscillianum gemino iudicio auditum conuictumque malefici nec diffitentem obscenis se studuisse doctrinis, nocturnos etiam turpium feminarum egisse conuentus nudumque orare solitum, nocentem pronuntiavit redegitque in custodiam, donec ad principem referret (chap. 50). *Chron.* II, cap. 47, 5-7, p. 100; cap. 48, 16-20, p. 101; cap. 50, 25-29, p. 103.

³¹ Ferreiro, "Jerome's polemic," at pp. 316-319.

³² The list in Jerome's letter when extracted is in part the following:

Simon Magus/Helena = a sect.

Nicolas of Antioch = Bands of Women, uncleanness, and so on, in Ferreiro, "Jerome's polemic," p. 313.

³³ Orlandis and Ramos-Lissón, *Historia de los Concilios*, p. 71, and Ferreiro, "Jerome's polemic," pp. 309-332. Van Dam, *Leadership and Community*, p. 106.

fore relied entirely upon what reached them about Priscillian through the grapevine, as it were. I am not ready to dismiss Sulpicius and Jerome as entirely useless for the study of Priscillian, however. I do firmly believe that on the issue of sexual immorality both writers relied heavily, even more so Jerome, upon the subcurrent of orally transmitted rumors and gossip. Recalling also that by the fourth century the *topos* of Nicolaitism (sexual deviancy) was quickly becoming a standard label attached to individual heretics and groups.

Isidore of Seville stands at the other end of the controversy. Priscillian's execution was in the distant past, and an organized sect of Priscillianists did not exist. Priscillian, however, did enter the dubious lists of heretics which circulated in the church to warn Christians about past and present doctrinal and moral error. Isidore recalls Priscillian in *De viris illustribus* where he states that his doctrines were inspired by both a Gnostic named Marcus of Memphis and Manes.³⁴ In *Etymologiarum, De haeresibus Christianorum*, VIII, 5, 54, he again states that Gnosticism and Manichaeism inspired Priscillian's doctrines.³⁵ Congruent with the majority of the sources that we have considered up to now, Isidore of Seville also is silent about the sexual promiscuity nor is there any invocation of Nicolaitans in his works. Isidore reflects already in the seventh century what will be the standard portrait of the "memory" of Priscillianism and it is one focused exclusively with doctrinal error—i.e. Gnostic and Manichaean—and not sexual immorality.³⁶

That Priscillian and his followers were suspected of engaging in sexual promiscuity by their opponents there is absolutely no doubt. The testimony of Bachiarus and the Priscillian *Tractates* reveal that

³⁴ Itacius Hispaniarum episcopus, cognomento et eloquio Clarus, scripsit quemdam librum sub apologetici specie, in quo detestanda Priscilliani dogmata et maleficiorum eius artes libidinumque eius probra demonstrat: ostendens, Marcum quemdam Menpheticum, magiae scientissimum, discipulum fuisse Manis et Priscilliani magistrum, II, 1-6, in C. Codoñer Merino, *El "De viris illustribus" de Isidoro de Sevilla*. Estudio y edición crítica. Salamanca, 1964, p. 135.

³⁵ Priscillianistae a Priscilliano vocati, qui in Hispania ex errore Gnosticorum et Manichaeorum permixtum dogma composuisti, in J. Oroz Reta (et al.), *San Isidoro de Sevilla, Etimologías I (Libros I-X)*. Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 433. Madrid, 1982, pp. 698-701.

³⁶ Nicolaitae dicti a Nicolao, diacono Ecclesiae Hierosolymorum, qui cum Stephano et ceteris constitutus est a Petro; qui propter pulchritudinem relinquens uxorem, ut qui vellet eam uteretur, versa est in stuprum talis consuetudo, ut invicem coniugia commutarentur. Quos Iohannes in *Apocalypsi* inprobat dicens (2, 6): "sed hoc habes, quod odisti facta Nicolaitarum," Ibid., VIII, 5, 5; pp. 693-695.

both for different reasons felt compelled to denounce Nicolaitism, a *topos* already present in anti-heretical literature associated with sexual depravity. The relative little importance of alleged sexual immorality is patently clear in conciliar decrees, peninsular writers, and by major polemicists like Pope Leo I external to Iberia. We need to read with serious reservations what Sulpicius Severus and Jerome tell us about this aspect of Priscillianism. The major consistent object of attention by all of Priscillian's opponents is his alleged Gnosticism and Manicheanism. As the centuries subsequent to Priscillian unfolded the *topos* of Nicolaitism was frequently utilized by the Catholic community to condemn the alleged immorality oftentimes associated with heretics. Much later in the eleventh and twelfth centuries the *topos* of Nicolaitism was used by Christian writers to attack Islam and within the Church to ban clerical marriage.³⁷

³⁷ I am currently working on a study of Nicolaitism in Christian texts against Islam in the Middle Ages. For the memory of Priscillian in the Middle Ages see for now J. Orlandis, "Toletanac Illusionis Superstitio," *Scripta Theologica* 18, 1 (1986) 197-213, at 202-204.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SIMON MAGUS AND PRISCILLIAN IN THE *COMMONITORIUM* OF VINCENT OF LÉRINS*

In the history of doctrine the fourth century certainly stands forth as one of the most polemical and decisive in Church History. In the East the Arian controversy gripped the minds and emotions of the Church involving the Emperor and bishops as they debated intensely over Trinitarian formulas. The West also became the stage of debate concerning the Trinity, but in the fourth century it was temporarily overshadowed by the advent of Priscillianism and for a time this heresy occupied the attention of the Church in the West, particularly in Spain and France. As in the Arian dispute, Priscillian attracted the attention of the western Imperial authorities, the major ecclesiastics, and the laity. Contemporary sources indicate that Priscillianism was the major heretical group in Spain, one that allegedly embodied the teachings of the Gnostics and Manichaeans. Monastic asceticism was also making its initial appearance in the Iberian Peninsula, and Priscillian was one of numerous ascetics who had a wide following of both men and women. The Priscillianist controversy ended tragically with Priscillian's execution at Trier at the hands of the usurper Emperor Maximus in 385/86.¹

As Priscillianism spread outside of Spain well after his death into the sixth century, the response from non-peninsular writers became

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¹ W. H. C. Frend observed, "for the first time, a Christian had been condemned to death on what appeared to be a religious issue," in *The Rise of Christianity*. Philadelphia, Fortress, 1984, p. 713; On Priscillian consult the fundamental study by Henry Chadwick, *Priscillian of Avila. The Occult and the charismatic in the early church*. Oxford, 1976; also the recent work by Raymond Van Dam, "The heresy of Priscillianism", chapter 5 in his book, *Leadership and Community in Late Antique Gaul, The Transformation of the Classical Heritage*, 8. University of California Press: Berkeley, 1985, pp. 88–114.

vigorous.² In Southern France, where Priscillianism had a significant presence, Vincent of Lérins turned his attention to Priscillian within a broader consideration of heresy in his most well known work, the *Commonitorium*. Theological arguments aside, through the use of typology Vincent of Lérins invoked Simon Magus to oppose Priscillian.³ I propose to demonstrate the significant place of the Simon Magus 'type' in Vincent's work. To that end, I will discuss: A brief exploration of select patristic sources that shaped the Simon Magus 'type' prior to Vincent and his own contribution to the tradition. And, the essential nexus Simon Magus provides between Priscillian and other heresies.

Vincent's commentary on Priscillian is found in three brief references, and they all reveal several significant concepts this study intends to explore. In the first, Priscillian appears in a partial list of heretics, some of which are dealt with by Vincent in detail (*Comm.* 2. 3. 13–20. pp. 148–149). The second is found within Vincent's condemnation of apocryphal non-canonical books used by heretics, and Priscillian is identified as one who made use of such books (*Comm.* 25. 3. 9–12. p. 182). The third and final reference focuses upon Priscillian only and it is central to Vincent's arguments against all heresies (*Comm.* 24. 10. 41–45. p. 181). It is here, the lengthiest entry, where we find the essential concepts enunciated by Vincent, substantiated by a rich patristic tradition that form the crux of his arguments against Priscillian:

Quis ante magum Simonem, apostolica districtione percutsum, a quo uetus ille turpitudinum gurgis usque in nouissimum Priscillianum continua et occulta successione manauit, auctorem malorum, id est scelorum impietatem flagitiorumque nostrorum ausus est dicere creatorem Deum? (*Comm.* 24. 10. 41–45. p. 181).

² See Jerome's *Epistula* 133.4. CSEL, 56. pp. 247–248. Ambrose of Milan, *Epistula* 30 (*Maur.* 24) chapter 12, in *Sancti Ambrosii Opera, pars decima. Epistulae et Acta*. Tom. 1 *Epistularum Libri I–VI* CSEL, 82.1 pp. 214–215 and *Epistula* 68 (*Maur.* 26) CSEL 82.2, pp. 169–178. Augustine, *De haeresibus* 70, CCSL, 46. p. 333. The evidence for Martin of Tours and Pope Damasus is in Sulpicius Severus, *Chron.* II. ch. 48, CSEL, 1, p. 101 and ch. 50, CSEL, 1. p. 103.

³ Vincentii Lerinensis, *Commonitorium. Excerpta*. (cura et studio) R. Demeulenaere. Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina, 64. Turnholi, 1985, pp. 127–195. [Hereafter cited as *Comm.*]. This article will eventually form part of a booklength study that I am pursuing on the figure of Simon Magus titled, *Simon Magus in the Early Christian and Medieval Tradition*.

Three substantial concepts:

- (a) The identification of Simon Magus's primacy [Quis ante magum Simonem].
- (b) The apostle's wrath against Simon, an implicit reference to St. Peter [apostolica districtione percussus].
- (c) A secret heretical succession [continua et occulta successione manauit].

The primacy of Simon Magus appears in patristic sources in two forms. In some writers Simon tops the list of Christian heresies without any explicit language about his primacy, but his position is meant to convey that message.⁴ There are a few exegetes who with explicit language identify Simon as the 'font' of all Christian heretical doctrines.⁵ In either form the message is the same: all heresies are spiritually derived from Simon Magus. Simon's primacy is implied in Vincent's statement "Quis ante magum Simonem," (*Comm.* 24. 10. 41. p. 181) and in "continua et occulta successione" (*Comm.* 24. 10. 43-44. p. 181). Here Vincent provided the precise language to express the succession of heretics from Simon. Similarly to Jerome, he extended the idea of pseudo-apostolic succession far beyond any of the earlier writers, such as Epiphanius of Salamis who limits the successors of Simon Magus to the Gnostics.

These affirmations are intended to convey that Priscillian the 'new' heretic through a secret succession is a spiritual heir of Simon "usque in nouissimum Priscillianum" (*Comm.* 24. 10. 43. p. 181). The *Commonitorium* suggests two parallel successions: In the first Simon Magus has primacy over a succession of heretics or pseudo-apostles, and in

⁴ Though lacking any specific reference to "succession" from Simon Magus these sources are very clear about his implicit 'primacy': Irenaeus, *Contra haereses*, 1.23.2, in Irénée de Lyon. *Contre les hérésies*. Livre 1,2. (ed. A. Rousseau and L. Doutreleau) Sources Chrétiennes, 264. Paris, 1979, pp. 314-315. Augustine, *De haeresibus*, 1. CCSL, 46. p. 290. Filastrius of Brescia, *Diversarum haereseon liber*, 29, CCSL, 9. pp. 228-229.

⁵ The *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles* speak of a succession of all heresies from Simon Magus but limits it to the Gnostics, *Les Constitutions Apostoliques Tome II. Livres III-VI*. (ed. Marcel Metzger) Sources Chrétiennes, 329. Paris, 1986, 6.8.1, pp. 314-317. Hippolytus, *Refutatio omnium haeresium* in *Die griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller*, 3. Band (ed. Paul Wendland) Leipzig, 1916, 6.7, 3: 134-135. Eusebius of Caesarea, *HE*, 2.13.1. in Eusèbe de Césarée, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, 4 vols. (ed. Gustave Bardy) Sources Chrétiennes, 31: 66-68. These two sources likewise limit the succession to Gnostics: Pseudo-Tertullian, *Adversus omnes haereses*. CCSL, 2.2. p. 1401. Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion haer. (1-64)*. in *Die griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller*. 2. Band (ed. Karl Holl and Jürgen Dummer). Leipzig, 1915 and 1980; 21, 2.2-3.6.1: 239-242. Also Jerome, *Epistula 133,4*. CSEL, 56. pp. 247-248.

the second Simon Peter has primacy over the legitimate successors of the Apostles. Vincent posits a pseudo-apostolic succession of heresy which in his day he believed to be embodied in Priscillian. Vincent likewise advocated, like Pope Leo I, that all previous heretical errors were now manifest in the teachings and practices propagated by Priscillian.⁶

Vincent repeatedly served notice that his teachings are those handed down and entrusted to true believers by 'our spiritual ancestors' (*Comm.* 1. 6. 32–33. p. 148), the Apostles. True believers are charged to hold fast to the core traditions believed everywhere and always by all (*Comm.* 2. 5. 24–25. p. 149). If all heretics spiritually originate from Simon Magus, then, their teachings are clearly non-apostolic and must be rebuked by the true heirs of the Apostles. The preservation of orthodoxy has been one of enormous personal sacrifice by the 'Confessors' who have gloriously defended the one and only apostolic Catholic truth (*Comm.* 5. 5. 33–36. p. 152). In this same vein, Vincent stressed the "vigor, zeal, and fighting spirit of the blessed apostles" (*Comm.* 6. 3. 10–14. p. 153). The orthodox are now to be the zealous and cautious guardians of the dogmas 'deposited' into their hands (*Comm.* 23. 16. 75–78. pp. 179–180). Vincent also insisted that there is no secret about the clear teachings of the Apostles, for they are expounded openly for all to read in the Creeds of the great councils (*Comm.* 23. 18–19. 82–93. p. 180).⁷ Catholic dogma shall remain, therefore, "uncorrupted one and the same throughout the ages for ever and ever" (*Comm.* 24. 2. 6–9. p. 180). These arguments by Vincent on 'apostolic succession' are crucial for the internal unity of the *Commonitorium* and his condemnation of pseudo-apostles like Priscillian whom he believed descend from Simon Magus.

Equally important to the tradition is Simon Magus's confrontation with the apostle Simon Peter. Vincent diligently referred to the incident "Quis ante magum Simonem, apostolica districtione percutsum" (*Comm.* 24. 10.41–42. p. 181). Simon Magus, in the *Acts of the Apostles*, was confronted by Peter and John when he attempted to buy from

⁶ *Epistula*. 15, *praef.* PL 54: 678–679.

⁷ Vincent cited specifically the Council of Ephesus, "Ephesinam quoque synodum, id est, totius paene orientis sanctorum episcoporum iudicata proculcet, quibus diuinitus placuit, nihil aliud posteris credendum decernere, nisi quod sacrata sibi in Christo consentiens sanctorum patrum tenuisset antiquitas." (*Comm.* 33. 2. 8–12. p. 194).

them the power of God. Of the two apostles it is Simon Peter who rebuked, warned, and admonished Simon Magus to abandon such wicked thoughts (*Acts* 8:18–25). In the account, Simon Peter ‘the Rock’ crushed by his apostolic authority, Simon Magus ‘the Magician’ the anti-apostle. Eusebius of Caesarea is notable for his descriptive account of Peter’s rebuttal of the Magician. He called Simon Magus and his followers spiritual ‘lepers.’ Simon Magus was hailed the greatest enemy of the Apostles, while Simon Peter emerged as the Chief Apostle who vanquished the arch-enemy of Christ.⁸ Patristic writers preceding Vincent of Lérins made use of the incident in *Acts* and the apocryphal *Acts of Peter and Paul*, but aside from Vincent only Jerome connected Simon with Priscillian. In a preliminary study on Jerome’s *Letter* 133 written to Ctesiphon, approximately in 415, I have demonstrated conclusively how Simon Magus and Priscillian are juxtaposed as the Alpha and Omega of heresy. While Jerome’s arguments are couched in implicit language, Vincent of Lérins is more forthcoming.⁹ The emphasis in this section by Vincent is the primacy and centrality of apostolic authority. In the concluding chapters Vincent accused heretics of opposing the Holy See at Rome, specifically the pontiffs Sixtus and Celestine, the successors of St. Peter. To add an extra touch of authority Vincent mentioned the “blessed Apostle Paul” (*Comm.* 33. 1–4. 1–24. p. 194).¹⁰ Peter and Paul, together, formed an overwhelming source of authority that vindicates Petrine primacy and apostolic succession, respectively. In the pages of the *Commonitorium*, then, Priscillian surfaces, as all heretics do, as a direct opponent of St. Peter.

A crucial element in Vincent’s thought is his reference to a “secret and continuous succession” [Continua et occulta successione manauit *Comm.* 24. 10. 43–44. p. 181] of heretics. Vincent rejected the claim by heretics of possessing the true faith, allegedly concealed for centuries, and which has now been made manifest in their teachings

⁸ *HE*, 2, 1. 10–12. SC, 31: 51. and 2.13.1 and 2.14.1, SC, 31: 66–67 and 68, respectively.

⁹ Due to limitations of space imposed by the publisher the article considers only the figures of Simon Magus and Nicolas of Antioch, Alberto Ferreiro, ‘Sexual Depravity, Doctrinal Error, and Character Assassination in the Fourth Century: Jerome against the Priscillianists,’ in *Studia Patristica* 28 (1993) 29–38. The full treatment of Jerome’s letter is in, Id., ‘Jerome’s polemic against Priscillian in his *Letter* to Ctesiphon (133.4),’ *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 39, 2 (1993) 309–332.

¹⁰ *Comm.* 32. 1–7. 1–31. p. 193 and 33. 1–7 1–40. pp. 194–195.

(*Comm.* 21. 7. 31–34. p. 176). He found these arguments wholly unacceptable and warned sternly, “Where in previous times there was the sanctuary of chaste and uncorrupted truth there will be a brothel of impious and filthy errors” (*Comm.* 23. 15. 71–74. p. 179). Heretics uphold doctrinal innovations never followed or accepted at any time by Catholics. In order to emphasize the provincial nature of heresies Vincent observed how heretics invariably surface at punctuated times, in limited geographic areas, and under the name of specific individuals (*Comm.* 24. 6. 26–29. p. 181). When heretics claim to have the true teachings of the faith they imply that everyone else has been in doctrinal ignorance for centuries. Priscillian was one of several heretics whom Vincent mentioned as holding such attitudes. (*Comm.* 24. 4–5. 14–25. pp. 180–181). He also recalled the manner in which heretics emphasize *their* church, an exclusive divine grace, truth known only to their own *small circle*, and given to their select members (*Comm.* 26. 8–9. 28–37. p. 185). The apostolic message, on the other hand, is consistently open and believed by the faithful everywhere and at all times. Heretical teachers, therefore, consciously break away from the abiding universal teachings of the Church.

A corollary dimension to the ‘secretive’ nature of heretical teachers is their insatiable pursuit of ‘profane novelties’ coupled with an abhorrence of traditional knowledge (*Comm.* 24. 12. 51–56. p. 182). Sulpicius Severus described Priscillian of being ‘restless’ [*inquietus*] for new knowledge, vain about his own learning, and of attracting people [especially women] prone to seek out doctrinal novelties.¹¹

Damning proof of relentless appetite for novelties is heretics’s attraction to and use of apocryphal non-canonical books. Priscillian was unanimously accused for his use of apocryphal books and Vincent is quick to mention this activity (*Comm.* 25. 3. 9–12. p. 182).¹² The

¹¹ Is ubi doctrinam exitiabilem aggressus est, multos nobilium pluresque populares auctoritate persuadendi et arte blandiendi allicuit in societatem. ad hoc mulieres nouarum rerum cupidae, fluxa fide et ad omnia curioso ingenio, cateruatim ad eum confluebant. *Chron.* II. 46, CSEL, i pp. 99–100.

¹² Numerous sources, other than Vincent, identify the use of non-canonical books by the Priscillianists. Consult Pope Leo I, *Epistula* 15, *praef.* PL 54:680 see also 687–688. Augustine in a letter to Cretius addressed this topic, *Epistula* 237, CSEL 57, pp. 526–532 and his *De haeresibus*, 70, CCSL, 46. pp. 333–334. Jerome, *Commentariorum in Esaiam. Libri xii–xviii*. CCSL, 73A. *S. Hieronymi Presbyteri Opera*, Pars 1, 2A. Turnholt, 1963. p. 735, and *Praefatio S. Hieronymi in Pentateuchum*. PL 28: 180–181. Also, his *De viris illustribus*, 121–123 in *Hieronymi: De viris illustribus* (ed. W. Herding) *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*. Leipzig, 1879. pp. 62–63. =

secret succession of heretics is made all the more apparent by their limited following and use of unauthorized documents. Vincent charged heretics of abusing the Canon when citing it in their own heretical writings (*Comm.* 25. 1-3. 1-12. p. 182), Priscillian is oftentimes displayed as a prime example of those who abuse the Word of God.¹³

While Vincent upheld the Canon of scripture as sufficient in itself he recognized that it was also subject to a variety of interpretations (*Comm.* 2. 2. 11-13. p. 148). Even so, in the midst of varying interpretations, Vincent believed a core apostolic doctrine remained inviolate. The doctrinal innovators, so it seems, were those who distort the core. Vincent, in chapter 23, explained the difference between expounding a core doctrine and changing one into something else altogether. He defined *progress* of faith as something which grows internally without in essence abandoning its true inner meaning. Heretics do not promote progress of faith, they *change* the faith by transforming sound doctrine into heretical opinions (*Comm.* 23. 1-3. 1-12. pp. 177-178). On account of his use of apocryphal books Priscillian was accused of creating heretical novelties contrary to the core tradition of the orthodox.¹⁴ True believers were charged to care for, expound, and polish up the ancient dogmas while at the same time not distorting apostolic doctrine (*Comm.* 23. 15. 67-71. p. 179).

Vincent maintained that even the most eminent, well established 'doctors of the Church' were vulnerable to heretical opinions (*Comm.* 10. 1. 1-3. p. 158 and 10.8. 33-39. p. 159). While Sulpicius spoke highly of Priscillian's background, praising his eloquence, education, and ascetic charisma he emphasized that through pride Priscillian fell into error.¹⁵ Vincent believed heretics are spiritual malcontents not satisfied with the true faith (*Comm.* 21. 1. 1-7. p. 175).¹⁶ Just as

PL 23:750-751. There exists conciliar legislation on this matter, too, First Council of Toledo (400) in *Concilios Visigóticos e Hispano-Romanos*. José Vives (ed. et al.). Barcelona-Madrid, 1963. pp. 29-31 and 33. In the same volume, First Council of Braga (561), pp. 69, 73.

¹³ Consult Pope Leo I in *Epistula* 15, *praef.* PL 54:680 and 687-688. And, Augustine's letter to *Ceretus*, *Epistula* 237, CSEL, 57. pp. 526-532.

¹⁴ Denique si universae haereses quae ante Priscilliani tempus exortae sunt diligentius retractentur, nullus pene invenietur error de quo non traxerit impietas ista contagium: quae non contenta eorum recipere falsitates qui ab Evangelio sub Christi nomine deviarunt, tenebris se etiam paganitatis immersit... *Epistula* 15, *praef.* PL 54: 679.

¹⁵ *Chron.* II. 46, CSEL, 1. pp. 99-100.

¹⁶ Vincent quotes 1 Timothy 6: 20-21 in this regard, (*Comm.* 21. 3. 14-17. p. 175).

Simon Magus, on account of his pride, was not able to enter into the inner circle of the Apostles, so are all of his secret successors, like Priscillian doomed to exclusion and censure from the Church universal.

As a final show of authority Vincent turned to conciliar legislation to forcefully silence heretical opinions. Vincent pinpointed specific principles the faithful are to use to identify orthodoxy: universality, antiquity, and consent, all openly made known through the councils. He argued that all heretics when considered against the backdrop of the councils, including the opinion of the Fathers, emerge isolated from the consensus of the universal Church. Those who wish to validate teachings that are doubtful are encouraged to use the Canon, Tradition, and the Councils (*Comm.* 29. 2. 7–10. p. 189). If the councils do not address a specific teaching Vincent recommended reading the Fathers, who have agreed with the councils (*Comm.* 29. 6. 24–29. p. 190).¹⁷ With this criteria, so Vincent advocated, the Church would be able to control the proliferation of heresies (*Comm.* 27. 5. 21–23. p. 186).

The ecumenical councils represent the collective voice of the Church, and accompanied by the Creeds they form the clearest expression of apostolic truth (*Comm.* 23. 18–19. 82–93. p. 180).¹⁸ This means every heretic mentioned in the *Commonitorium* has been silenced by the ecumenical councils, including Priscillian.

It seems highly unlikely Vincent of Lérins was not cognizant of the specific conciliar decrees directed against Priscillian in the Iberian Peninsula. Two Iberian councils, contemporaneous with Vincent, convened to deal with Priscillianism; they were the Council of Zaragoza (c. 380) and First Council of Toledo (400), respectively.¹⁹ Of the two, it is generally agreed that not all of the canons of the Council of Zaragoza are directed against Priscillian.²⁰ No similar doubts exist

¹⁷ The most prominent Church Fathers to oppose Priscillian or who at least were heavily involved in the controversy were Jerome, Ambrose of Milan, Augustine, Martin of Tours and Pope Damasus. See note 2 above.

¹⁸ Vincent employed the councils in several places, and the more significant are: Councils of Rimini (*Comm.* 29. 8. 34–40. p. 190), African councils (*Comm.* 6. 9 43–46. p. 154), and Council of Ephesus (*Comm.* 33. 2. 8–12. p. 194).

¹⁹ See the edition, *Concilios Visigóticos*, pp. 16–18 and for the First Council of Toledo, pp. 28–31.

²⁰ The various learned opinions on this problem are gathered together in, José Orlandis and Domingo Ramos-Lissón, *Historia de los Concilios de la España Romana y Visigoda*, Ediciones Universidad de Navarra: Pamplona, 1986. pp. 65–80. The most

for the First Council of Toledo where we find detailed opposition to Priscillianism. Among other censures, in Canon 18 the bishops expressly accuse Priscillian of opposing the See of St. Peter: "If anyone follows or teaches the errors of Priscillian, or administers a baptism that is contrary to the See of St. Peter, let him be anathema."²¹ What Vincent wished to convey in regard to conciliar confrontation is: as the bishop of Rome is the successor of Peter and Priscillian a successor of Simon Magus, so the confrontation between the 'Magician' and the 'Rock' is continually being played out spiritually speaking in the councils.

Vincent of Lérins borrowed from an earlier Simon Magus tradition referred to in the *Acts of the Apostles* in the New Testament and in patristic writers to advance his arguments to censure Priscillianism. We cannot find any trace in Vincent of use of any apocryphal Acts of Peter and Paul in the *Commonitorium*. This is not indicative, however, that he was not acquainted with that tradition. Vincent believed he was upholding in the *Commonitorium* the traditions and teachings of the apostles enunciated in the universal Councils. It is through Priscillian that Vincent was able to identify 'living proof' of the spirit of Simon Magus working in his own time through a secret succession. Whereas in the earlier tradition Simon Magus was held culpable of engendering Gnosticism only, now he is charged by Vincent of spiritually propagating in Priscillian a continuing line of heretics.²² Of all the Church Fathers, Jerome and Vincent alone extend the idea of heretical succession from Simon Magus far beyond the Gnostic.

As in the case of all non-peninsular writers, Vincent had a distant knowledge of Priscillianism. If he had any direct encounter with the teachings of Priscillian, it is not self-evident in the *Commonitorium*.²³

thorough treatment of the Council of Zaragoza and Priscillian is in, *I Concilio Caesaraugustano MDC Aniversario*. Zaragoza, 1981, especially the essays by Jacques Fontaine, Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, Antonino González Blanco, and José María Blázquez Martínez.

²¹ *Concilios Visigóticos*, p. 28.

²² The sources that most directly attribute Gnosticism to Simon Magus are. *The Constitutions of the Holy Apostles*, 6.8.1. SC, 329: 314-317. Epiphanius, *Panarion haer.* 21, 2.2-3.6. GCS, 1: 239-242.

²³ Antonio González Blanco correctly points out that most works written against heretics have little to do with reality, "Cuando San Epifanio, Filastrio o San Agustín escriben sus obras antiheréticas, éstas son más bien catálogos de errores, la mayor parte de los cuales, por no decir todos, son sistemas estereotipados, que tienen poco que ver con la situación real de la iglesia de su tiempo . . ." "El canon 7 del Concilio de Zaragoza (380) y sus implicaciones sociales" *I Concilio Caesaraugustano*, p. 248.

Vincent's commentary is a rhetorical attack against Priscillian, as such it does not inform us specifically about the rituals or theology of the sect. The fact that Vincent and other non-peninsular writers turned their attention to Priscillianism is testimony of its far reaching effects in Southern Gaul and Iberia in Late Antiquity.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE FALL OF SIMON MAGUS IN EARLY CHRISTIAN COMMENTARY*

It is a well known fact that Simon Magus's aerial flight and subsequent fall—the result of apostolic intervention—is the most frequently recalled apocryphal New Testament event in the art and literature of the Middle Ages, even in the Baroque era. The medieval reception of this apocryphal legend was derived both from the “Acts of Peter” (*Acta Petri*) and “The Passion of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul” (*Passio*) and from the commentary of the Church Fathers of this episode.¹ This article brings together the patristic exegesis of the Fall of Simon Magus to ascertain the reception of the apocryphal material and its pedagogical adaptation by the Church Fathers. It also identifies the major themes which the Church Fathers promoted through the use of the Fall of Simon Magus even though written across many centuries, from disparate geographical regions, and representing distinct ecclesial communities.

Any discussion of Simon Magus in the patristic era must begin with Justin Martyr and his contemporaries of the second century. Justin says nothing about Simon Magus and Peter engaging in an all or nothing confrontation in the presence of Nero. He does, however, place Simon Magus in Rome where Simon astonished the crowds, the sacred [Roman] senate, and presumably the emperor, too, by his magic.² Even so, the magician's presence at Rome places

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¹ Two studies which are very useful are by C. Cecchelli, *Gli Apostoli a Roma, Gli “Apostoli” e la tradizione della venuta di S. Pietro a Roma*, “Archivio della Reale Diputazione Romana di Storia Patria” 66 (1942) 1–57 and a collection, though not exhaustive, concerning the Fall of Simon Magus is in P. Lugano, *Le memorie leggendarie di Simon Mago e della sua volata*, “Nuovo Bulletino di Archeologia Cristiana” 6 (1900) 29–66. I am using the editions by R. A. Lipsius-M. Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1972 and Lipsiae, 1891, pp. 45–103 and 119–177, respectively.

² There are two references: “qui sub Claudio Caesare, cum magica miracula,

him in direct confrontation with the apostles Peter and Paul. Already in Justin's day it was increasingly believed in the West and East that Peter and Paul had been martyred at Rome and were buried there.³ There would be no question in the mind of the reader of the *Apologia* who it was that Simon Magus challenged at Rome. What of the omission of the Fall of Simon Magus in this crucial and earliest of sources? We need recall that Justin's *Apologia* dates within decades, if not the very same decade, when the *Acta Petri* was written. Most agree the latter to have been written around 180–190.⁴ It is entirely probable that Justin had no knowledge of *Acta Petri* either because he wrote before the latter was penned, or because it had yet to circulate widely enough to be read by a larger audience. What is fascinating and telling about the *Apologia* and *Acta Petri* is what they have in common, notably if they originated without direct influences on each other. The major point of convergence is the placement of Simon Magus at Rome with the apostles Peter and Paul present. The two accounts were drawing from an already established oral tradition that Peter and Paul died at Rome and were buried there. A shrine is attested to be at Rome in the 160s in honor of the apostles and like the literary sources reflecting earlier oral traditions.⁵ It is not unreasonable to accept as historical fact Justin's belief that Simon Magus traveled to Rome to promote his sect over and against the apostles. Some scholars have doubted the historicity of *Acta Petri* mainly on the basis of all its hagiographical embellishments. We

daemonum in eo operantium arte, in regia vestra urbe Romae edississet, deus existimatus est, et a vobis, tanquam deus, statua honoratus", I, 26, and "Nam cum apud vos in regia urbe Roma, ut jam dixi, imperante Claudio Caesare, Simon versaretur, et sacrum senatum et populum Romanum ita admiratione percussit", I, 56, *Apologia*, PG 6:367 and 414.

³ Consult on this matter, H. Lietzmann, *Petrus und Paulus in Rom. Liturgische und Archäologische Studien*, Walter de Gruyter, 1927, pp. 169–179, M. Cagiano de Azevedo, *Le memorie archeologiche di Pietro e Paolo a Roma*, in *Petro et Paulus Martyres*, "Vita et Pensiero" (1969) 31–57; E. Villa, *Il culto agli apostoli nell'Italia settentrionale alla fine del sec. IV*, "Ambrosius" 33 (1957) 245–264, G. Celi, *Sulle memorie e i monumenti del SS. Apostoli Pietro e Paolo a Roma*, "La civiltà cattolica" 86 (1935) 247–257 and 587–594, and F. Gerke, *Petrus und Paulus*, "Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana" 10 (1933) 307–329.

⁴ A discussion of dating and manuscript transmission of *Acta Petri* is in, Edgar Hennecke, *New Testament Apocrypha* (ed.), W. Schneemelcher, vol. 2, Westminster Press, 1965, pp. 259–275 with significant bibliography. For the *Acta Petri* text, pp. 45–104 and for the *Passio sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli* (= *Passio*), pp. 119–177, in *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* (ed.) R.A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet. Hildesheim-New York, 1972.

⁵ See the discussion by M. Grant, *Saint Peter: A biography*, Scribner, 1995, pp. 152–158. On the relics and monuments of the apostles see E. Villa, *Il culto agli apostoli nell'Italia settentrionale alla fine del sec. IV*, pp. 245–264.

should not hasten to dismiss in this literary genre the possibility that *Acta Petri* records an actual historical presence of Simon Magus at Rome in the first century, minus the spectacular touches, as did Justin in his *Apologia*. I agree with contemporary opinion that Justin informs us of actual historical events and information regarding Simon Magus, as meager as they might be.⁶ If so, the contemporaneous *Acta Petri* and the *Apologia* mutually endorse one another on this particular point: that Simon Magus and Peter and Paul very likely crossed paths at Rome. Simon was effectively refuted by the apostles and they in turn suffered martyrdom undoubtedly for reasons other than discrediting an upstart Samaritan Messiah/magician.⁷

In the second century tradition, after Justin Martyr, the contributions of Irenaeus of Lyons are profound. Insofar as the eventual demise of Simon Magus by the apostles, as told by the *Acta Petri*, it is also absent in Irenaeus's *Adversus haereses*.⁸ Again, there may exist the probability that Irenaeus simply was not aware of *Acta Petri* given they are relatively close to one another in terms of date of composition. Moreover, I have demonstrated in a previous article that Irenaeus was intent on establishing a connection between Simon Magus and Gnosticism which he did so successfully. His typological portrait of Simon Magus became the standard point of departure in the next several centuries in the writings of heresiologists.⁹ On the other hand, the independent tradition of *Acta Petri*, although contemporaneous to Justin and Irenaeus, is further accentuated by the absence of any direct "gnostic" associations of Simon Magus and any mention of his companion Helena. What of the placing of Simon Magus at Rome, as did Justin? Irenaeus for reasons that we are not

⁶ See G. Lüdemann, *The Acts of the Apostles and the beginnings of Simonian Gnosticism*, "New Testament Studies" 33 (1987) 420-426. See also, Tamás Adamik, *The image of Simon Magus in the Christian tradition*, in J. N. Bremmer (ed.), *The Apocryphal Acts of Peter. Magic, Miracles and Gnosticism*, Studies on the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, 3. Peeters, 1998, pp. 52-64.

⁷ Discussion about messianic expectations among the Samaritans is in, G. Ory, *Simon (dit le magicien) Dieu sauveur des Samaritains*, "Cahiers du cercle Ernest-Renan" 2 (1955) 1-16, G. Quispel, *From mythos to Logos*, "Eranos" 39 (1970) 323-340, W. C. van Unnik, *Newly Discovered Gnostic Writings*, "Studies in Biblical Theology" 30 (London 1960) p. 23 and J. Fossum, *The Origin of the Gnostic concept of the Demiurge*, "Ephemerides Theologicae Lovaniensis" 61 (1985) 142-152.

⁸ *Adversus haereses*, I, 23, SC, 264, pp. 312-321. Adamik, *The image of Simon Magus*, pp. 52-64.

⁹ See my discussions in, *Jerome's polemic against Priscillian in his Letter (133, 4) to Ctesiphon*, "Revue des Études Augustiniennes" 39 (1993) 309-332 and in, *Simon Magus: The patristic-medieval traditions and Historiography*, "Apocrypha" 7 (1996) 147-165.

able to explain did not make any reference to Rome and the confrontation with Simon Peter. His agenda steered him in different directions thus establishing one of several traditions about Simon Magus which converged in the medieval centuries.

Tertullian, who perhaps could have integrated the *Acta Petri*, and especially Justin's *Apologia* apparently did not. He was, however, attracted to promote and build upon Irenaeus's Gnostic Simon Magus, Helena, and their alleged idolatry. In *De praescriptione Haereticorum* he refers to the *Acts of the Apostles* incident.¹⁰ Tertullian had nothing to say about Simon's defeat by Peter and Paul. It may well be the Fall of Simon Magus contained in *Acta Petri* was still not diffused enough so that Tertullian as Irenaeus could not have availed himself for inclusion. Fundamental still, the more pressing issue of Gnosticism explains his reliance on Irenaeus and his indifference to *Acta Petri*, assuming he knew of the work, which does not lend itself to formulating anti-Gnostic diatribes.

Undoubtedly the most voluminous documents from the third century which relate debates between Simon Magus and Peter are the Pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions*.¹¹ They apparently betray little evidence of being influenced by *Acta Petri*. What they share in common is the mutual hostility of Simon Magus and Simon Peter. The identification of Rome as the major site of confrontation is anticipated in the *Recognitions* (I, 74).¹² As in the case of Justin, all of these writers are drawing upon a firmly established oral tradition about Rome which pre-dates the written sources. What of Simon's demise? In *Recognitions*, Simon Peter parts with Simon Magus after lengthy public disputes, while the latter hurls curses at the apostle. The *Homilies* closes with Peter embarking upon an apostolic mission to Antioch to oppose Simon Magus, who has had great success in converting many through his magical powers.¹³ No question exists

¹⁰ *De praescriptione haereticorum*, 33, 32–34, CSEL, 70, p. 42. See also his, *Adversus omnes hereses*, I, 1.4–8 and I, 3.1–3, CCSL, II, II, p. 1401.

¹¹ For full accounting of sources and studies see, *Recognitions "Pseudo-Clementines"*, *Die Pseudoklementinen II. Rekognitionen in Rufinus übersetzung* (ed.), B. Rehm, GCS, 51, Berlin, 1965 [hereafter *Recog.*] and for the homilies, *Die Pseudoklementinen I. Homilien* (ed.), B. Rehm, GCS, 1, Akademie Verlag, 1992, [hereafter *Hom.*] Useful on historiography of these texts is, F. Stanley, *The Pseudo-Clementines: A history of Research*, part I, "Second Century" 2 (1982) 1–33 and 63–96.

¹² *Usquequo deo favente perveniatur ad ipsam quo iter nostrum dirigendum credimus urbem Romam*, *Recog.*, I, 74, p. 50.

¹³ *Recog.*, III, 73, p. 144, and *Hom.* XX, 23, p. 281.

in either the *Recognitiones* or *Homilies* regarding the superior authority of Simon Peter over the magician, who truly speaks for God, and the ultimate fate of those who cling to the teaching of Simon Magus. Curiously, the enmity between the apostle and the magician is left open ended, resembling the Acts of the Apostles confrontation, and the reader is not given any finality as we find so dramatically in *Acta Petri*. We do get in *Recognitiones* (II, 9) an indication that Simon Magus boasted that among his many magical powers he had the ability to fly. The author(s) chose to ignore the *Acta Petri* altogether on this score.¹⁴

We do not see in the third century a markedly increased influence of *Acta Petri* on the developing Simon Magus tales as found in the Church Fathers. Hippolytus and Origen made a brief reference to the meeting of Simon Magus and Simon Peter at Rome, but without any further elaboration. Neither of them has anything to say about Peter's ultimate victory over Simon Magus—even though that matter is beyond a shadow of a doubt—via the dramatics of *Acta Petri*. Since Hippolytus and Origen center the confrontations at Rome, the see of the Apostles Peter and Paul, as does *Acta Petri*, together they will contribute greatly to the rise to primacy of the See of Peter at Rome, the *Acta Petri* making extraordinary contributions in this regard.¹⁵ In the end, while Hippolytus and Origen seem not to have been directly acquainted with *Acta Petri* they foster awareness of Rome as the central site of the Simon Magus-Simon Peter debates. As we enter the fourth century we definitely see not only the presence of the tradition initiated by Justin and Irenaeus, we witness the explicit influence of *Acta Petri*.

The anonymous *Constitutions of the Apostles* most definitely relies heavily upon the apocryphal material. It recounts vividly the demise

¹⁴ "In aerem volando inuehar", *Recog.* II, 9, p. 56.

¹⁵ "Verum vel usque ad Romam progressus incidit in apostolus, cui multum Petrus adversatus est praestigiis seducendi multos", Origen, *Haer.* VI, 20, PG 16, 3:3225 and Hippolytus, *Refutatio omnium haeresium* (ed.), P. Wendland, 3 vols, GCS, 3, Leipzig 1916, 3:148. [hereafter *Haer.*], VI, 20, p. 148. The Flight of Simon Magus even influenced the development of the Mani prototype as found in the *Acta Archelai*, see M. Scopello, *Simon le Mage, prototype de Mani selon les Acta Archelai*, "Revue de la Société Ernest-Renan" 37 (1987-1988) 67-79. Adamik, *The Image of Simon Magus*, pp. 52-64. See also for further influences in Pseudo-Hegesippus and the *Nereus and Achilles*, Christine M. Thomas, *Revivifying resurrection accounts: techniques of composition and rewriting in the "Acts of Peter"* cc. 25-28, in *The Apocryphal Acts of Peter*, pp. 65-83:

of Simon Magus in Rome and his ability to fly with the aid of demons.¹⁶ Peter's imploration of God to confound Simon's mockery of Christ's Ascension results in his fall onto the pavement where he breaks his hip and ankle. In *Acta Petri* Peter is said to have specifically prayed that Simon Magus would only be disabled, but not die.¹⁷ That Simon Peter acts alone in the *Constitutions* with Paul absent and Simon Magus does not die on impact testifies to the heavy dependency on *Acta Petri* by the authors of the *Constitutions*.¹⁸

Eusebius in a section of *Historia*, where he extolled the primacy of Peter, could on the surface seem to summarize in broad contours the *Acta Petri* account of the defeat of Simon Magus at Rome without any mention of the flight and fall.¹⁹ He has both Simon Magus and Peter at Rome, for which he cites Justin as his source, but his statement that Peter vanquished the magician there is not in itself necessarily an allusion to *Acta Petri*.²⁰ It merits here to signal that elsewhere Eusebius expressed his disapproval of apocryphal books such as the "Acts" of Andrew, John, and other "Acts". These unidentified "Acts" could have conceivably included *Acta Petri*, since his version of the events, as mentioned before, for what he related about Simon Magus and Peter is based on Justin. By the fourth century, however, the "vanquished at Rome" could only be understood in light of the *Acta Petri*.²¹

¹⁶ In *Les Constitutions Apostoliques*, tome II, livres III–VI. (ed.), M. Metzger, SC, 329, VI, 9, 1–6, pp. 316–321.

¹⁷ In the *Passio*, Simon Magus dies on impact, 56, p. 167. In *Acta Petri*, Peter specifically prayed, "citius ergo, domine, fac gratiam tuam et ostende omnibus qui me adtendunt uirtutem tuam. sed non peto ut moriatur, sed aliquid in membris suis uexetus. et continuo caecidit ad terram, fregit crus in tres partes. tunc eum lapadantes omnes fidentes et conlaudantes dominum", 33, 17–21, p. 83.

¹⁸ *Constitutions*, VI, 9, 1–6, p. 319.

¹⁹ "Igitur cum Dei doctrina Romanos adventu suo illustrasset Simonis quidem vis ac potentia cum ipso simul autore breui existincta atque deleta est", *Historia*, II, 15, PG 20:171.

²⁰ *Historia*, II, 13 and 14, PG 20:167–171.

²¹ "Pro spuris habendi sunt etiam *Actus Pauli*, et liber *Pastoris* titule inscriptus, et *Revelatio Petri*: Barnabae item *epistola*, et quae dicuntur *Institutiones apostolorum*", and "tum alios sub apostolorum nomine ab haereticis evulgatos, qui Petri, Thomae, Matthiae, et quorundam aliorum *Evangelica*, Andreae quoque, Joannis, aliorumque apostolorum *Actus* continent", *Historia*, III, 25, PG 20:270. For Eusebius's rejection of apocryphal *Acta*, see B. Pearson, in "Eusebius and Gnosticism", *Eusebius Christianity, and Judaism*, "Studia Post-Biblica" 42 (Brill 1992) 291–310.

In Cyril of Jerusalem we see the emergence of what made the *Passio* a preferable version and which caused it to far surpass the *Acta Petri* in popularity in medieval times; namely, the cooperative work of Peter and Paul against Simon Magus at Rome.²² Among other distinctive features, Cyril described Simon Magus as being, “borne through the air in a demon’s chariot”. The only other source where an actual vehicle in place of demons takes up Simon Magus—reminiscent of Elijah’s chariot—is in the Celtic-Irish *Mog Ruith Legends*.²³ Cyril also described both apostles on their knees beseeching God to bring the “fake god” down. In the *Passio*, Peter will ask Paul to bend the knee and pray while he assumed the lead role invoking God’s power against the magician.²⁴ Cyril added that Peter was the keeper of the “keys of heaven” while Paul was the one who was “caught up to the third heaven”, a sign of his apostolic authority.²⁵ The primacy of Peter is evident throughout. Cyril did not write a descriptive account of Simon’s death other than to note that he crashed to the earth and was led from there to beneath the earth, Hell.²⁶ We can safely presume death on impact and thus see a departure with *Acta Petri* on this crucial aspect of the legend. In closing, Cyril called Simon Magus “the first dragon of wickedness” whose head has been cut off. Simon’s wickedness, however, has managed to manifest itself in many headed ways, hence, the numerous heretics which proceed from Simon’s teachings.²⁷ In Cyril there is a wonderful

²² “Cum vero error se latius spargeret, vitum illud correxerat egvegrium par vivorum, Petrus et Paulus Ecclesiae prasules, illuc appulsi”, and “de qua Jesus dixerat: ‘Si duo ex vobis concordarint, de omni re quamcumque petierint, fiet eis’: concordiae telo per precationem adversus Magus immisso, praecipitem ad terram dejecerunt”, *Catechesis*, VI, 15, *PG* 33:562–563. Compare with the *Passio*, 53–56, pp. 164–167.

²³ “Nam cum pollicitus esset Simon se sublimem in coelos elatum ici, ac *daemonum vehiculo* [emphasis mine] sublatus per aera ferretur; genibus provoluti servi Dei, concordiamque illam demonstrantes”, *Catechesis*, VI, 15, *PG* 33:563. For *Mog Ruith* see, K. Müller-Lisowski, *Texte zur Mog Ruith Sage*, “Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie” 14 (1923) 145–163. Id. *La Légende de St. Jean dans la tradition Irlandaise et le Druid Mog Ruith*, “Études Celtiques” 3 (1938) 46–70. For Elijah see, 2 Kings 2:11–12.

²⁴ *Passio*, 55, pp. 164–167.

²⁵ “Petrus namque erat, is qui coeli claves circumferebat. Nihil quoque miri: Paulus enim erat, is qui in tertium coelum atque in paradysum raptus erat”, *Catechesis*, VI, 15, *PG* 33:563. See II Corinthians 12:1–4.

²⁶ “Ex sublimi aere illum existimatum deum ad terram dejecerunt ad subterranea deprimentum”, *Catechesis*, VI, 15, *PG* 33:563.

²⁷ “Hic primus malitiae draco. Uno autem abscisso capite, muticeps denuo pravitatis deprehensa est radix”, *Catechesis*, VI, 15, *PG* 33:563.

convergence of the Justin-Irenaeus and *Acta Petri* traditions with some nuances that became central to the *Passio* version. Moreover, Cyril has made an important affirmation: Peter's triumph over Simon Magus is an assurance of the ongoing victory of the Church against heretics through the successors of the apostles.

Epiphanius of Salamis in his otherwise lengthy exposition of the Simonian doctrines made a brief statement about Simon Magus's end. He said, "And how does it happen that Simon died at Rome one day when his turn came, when the wretched man fell down and died right in the middle of Rome".²⁸ He perpetuates the climactic theme that Simon Magus died having fallen from heaven as reflected in the *Acta Petri* and *Passio* narratives.

The lesser known Theodoret in *Hereticarum fabularum Compendium*, signals Simon Magus's arrival to Rome, the deception he provoked, and the statue raised to worship him. Justin is apparently his source and like him had nothing to add about his flight and fall.²⁹

As the fourth century unfolded the pervasive common knowledge about Simon Magus's death at Rome from the fall resulted in some Greek Church Fathers not being felt obliged to relate this event. In addition to Eusebius and Theodoret, as noted already, Gregory of Nazianzus, and even John of Damascus much later say nothing explicitly about the flight and fall of Simon Magus. I think this can be explained perhaps by the explicit Petrine primacy that the increasingly popular *Passio* version espoused and which the Greek Fathers no doubt noticed and had no intention of propagating the theme as it was in the West.³⁰ The western Church Fathers continued to spread legends about Simon Magus and the apostles at Rome particularly through the *Passio* precisely because it favoured the particular authority of Peter and his successors at Rome.

Among western writers, Arnobius and Prosper of Aquitaine are brief in their remarks about Simon Magus. Arnobius simply notes that Peter opposed and confounded Simon Magus.³¹ Prosper in *Chronicon* noted Nero's persecution of the apostles at Rome without

²⁸ Epiphanius, *Ancoratus und Panarion*, 1-33, vol. 1. (ed.). K. Holl and J. Dummer, *GCS*, 1. Leipzig, 1915, *Panarion haer.* XXI, 5, 1, pp. 243-244.

²⁹ "Romam veniret (Simon) Romanos autem praestigiis suis sic obstupefecit, ut aenea illum statua honorarint", I. 1, *PG* 83:343.

³⁰ Gregory of Nazianzus, *PG* 37:1029-1166 and 1166-1227 and John of Damascus, *De haeresibus liber*, 21, *PG* 94:690.

³¹ "Viderant enim currum Simonis magi, et quadrigas igneas Petri ore difflatas, et nominato Christo evanuisse", *Adversus gentes*, II, 12, *PL* 5:828.

naming Simon Magus.³² In a second entry in the same source he identifies the Simonian origins of the doctrines of Basileides, a clear influence of the Irenaeian tradition.³³ In a previous study I have already shown how the *Acta Petri* was minimally used by Jerome and totally ignored by Vincent of Lérins. There does exist one reference to Peter's victory over Simon Magus by Jerome in *De viris Illustribus* (I), where he declared that Peter went to Rome and "expelled Simon Magus". That is all we get, but clearly *Acta Petri* seems to be the provenance of this statement.³⁴ Other western Church Fathers and sources demonstrate greater dependency on the *Acta Petri*.

Ambrose and Augustine were clearly the two most significant Church Fathers in the West, so we begin with what they had to say about Simon Magus and his demise. Ambrose in *De excidio Urbis Hierosolymitanae*, recalled the Fall of Simon Magus even mentioning the Capitol and his dying at *Aritiam* and that Peter acted alone.³⁵ In his *In epistulam ad Romanos* he talked about the flight where he compared Simon Magus to Satan. This is likely an allusion where Jesus in Luke's Gospel said, "Behold, I see Satan falling from heaven", as his disciples went about casting out demons. He also likened Simon Magus's magic to Jamnes and Mambres the court magicians of Pharaoh. This comparison is absent in *Acta Petri*, but appears later in the *Passio* version.³⁶ Augustine boasted about Peter's victory at Rome over Simon Magus in *De haeresibus*, a symbolic statement of the triumph of the Church which Augustine extends to heretics in his own day and for that matter in the future pilgrim Church.³⁷ In *Sermon 202*, he is more explicit about Simon's flight and his demise as the result of the prayers of Peter and Paul.³⁸ Once again in *Letter 36*, Augustine recalled how Peter, the head of the apostles, brought

³² "Primus Nero, super omnia scelera sua, etiam persecutionem in Christianos facit, in qua Petrus et Paulus apostoli gloriose Romae occubuerunt", *Chronicum*, PL 51: 555.

³³ "Hoc autem Basilides distabat a Simonis dogmate", *Chronicum*, PL 51:560.

³⁴ "Ad expugnandum Simonem magum", *De viris illustribus*, I, PL 23:638. See my article in note 9 and *ibid*, *Simon Magus and Priscillian in the Commonitorium of Vincent of Lérins*, "Vigiliae Christianae" 49, 2 (1995) 180-188.

³⁵ "Concendit statuto die montem Capitolium, ac se de rupe dejiciens, volare coepit. Mirari populus et venerari... sed fracto debilitato crure Aritiam concessit, atque ibi mortuus est", III, 2, PL 15:2170 and 2171.

³⁶ *In epistulam ad Romanos*, 8, 39, CSEL, 81, 1, pp. 298-301. *Passio*, 34, 9-12, p. 149.

³⁷ "In qua urbe apostolus Petrus eum uera uirtute dei omnipotentis exstinxit" [in Rome], *De haeresibus*, I, CCSL, 46, p. 290

³⁸ *Sermo*, 202, PL 39:2121.

Simon Magus down from heaven and extinguished him. In two lines in this document Augustine echoed the belief that Simon Magus was the "devil" and ultimately the representative of the Evil One.³⁹ It becomes clear that Augustine promoted more so than Ambrose, at least in these very brief statements—the primacy of Peter—.

We also find additional evidence of the growing proliferation of the *Acta Petri* as we enter into the period in which the *Passio* was written. Sulpicius Severus, one of the most well known chroniclers, included an entry about Simon Magus. Peter and Paul set out to oppose the magician who flew with demonic aid. After the apostles prayed, the demons fled, Simon fell into shame, but Sulpicius did not describe his death.⁴⁰ In view of the common knowledge about this incident it was hardly necessary for him to dedicate any more space. Relevant to the emerging *Passio*, where both apostles work together, is that increasingly sources from the fourth century rarely speak about Peter acting alone. Even so, as established before, Peter clearly occupied the preeminent position even when accompanied by Paul.

We now turn to make a brief comparison of the two principal texts which perpetuated the Fall of Simon Magus and shaped the thinking of the Church Fathers. In the opening scenes of the encounter leading up to the flight of Simon Magus there exist some prominent points of departure. In the *Acta Petri*, Simon Magus and Simon Peter hold a public debate in full view of a large crowd. It is there, in the middle of the throng, that Simon Magus announces that the next day he will "fly up to God".⁴¹ In the *Passio* the dispute unfolds in the presence of the Emperor Nero and a throng of people. Furthermore, the apostle Paul, unlike in the *Acta Petri*, accompanies Peter at every step of the ensuing dispute. The *Passio* has Simon Magus complaining that he wished to be separated from "these madmen".

³⁹ "Petrus etiam inquit, apostolorum caput, caeli ianitor et ecclesiae fundamentum, extincto Simone, qui fuerat diaboli . . . magus Simon figura erat diaboli", *Epistula*, XXXVI, 21, *CSEL*, 34, pp. 50–51.

⁴⁰ "Etenim tunc illustris illa adversus Simonem Petri ac Pauli congressio fuit, qui cum magicis artibus, ut se Deum probaret, duobus suffultus daemoniis evolasset, orationibus Apostolorum, fugatis daemonibus, delapsus in terrain populo inspectante, disruptus est", Sulpicii Severi, *Chronicorum*, II, 28, 5–9, *CSEL*, 1 (ed.), C. Halm, Vindobonae 1866, p. 83.

⁴¹ "Sed crastina die volabo ad dominum cuius ego uirtutem noui, quia uos caecidistis me, et ego uado ad patrem omnium et dico illi: 'Iniuriam mihi fecerunt filii tui: ego ad te ideo reuersus sum'", *Acta Petri*, 31, 30–31 and 1–3, pp. 81–83.

He also boasts that he will do so by performing an extraordinary miracle to prove the veracity of his claim to have the "Power of God". Simon Magus asked Nero to order a high tower constructed so that from there he could leap and fly in the air with the aid of angels sent by God.⁴² Nero, not able to resist his zeal, ordered the tower built in the *Campus Martius* and issued a decree demanding that the common people and prominent citizens be present.⁴³ The *Acta Petri* mentions a "high place" upon which Simon Magus stood, but there is no detailed description of a high tower made of wood. Moreover, it identifies the place of confrontation as the *Sacra Via* in Rome (*Alia autem die turbe magna conuenit ad platea quae dicitur sacra via, ut uideret eum uolantem, Acta Petri, 32, 4-5, p. 83*). The *Acta Petri* notes that it is only after Peter arrived in Rome that Simon Magus stood on the "high place" from where he denounced Peter and then proceeded to fly. Simon Magus was seen by all at Rome as he flew over its temples and hills and those who followed Peter awaited the apostle to do something against him.⁴⁴

In the *Passio*, Nero is presented as being fully in control of the duel between the apostles Peter and Paul and the magician. Nero, for example, ordered Peter and Paul to present themselves the next day for the contest. The apostle Paul, then, tells Peter that he will bend the knee and pray for Peter as they await to see what Simon Magus will do. Simon Magus not only promised Nero that he would expose the apostles as frauds, but he would even give Nero the power to fly as well. Nero much like an excited adolescent hastily responded, "do quickly what you have just said".⁴⁵

The *Acta Petri* relates that Peter called upon God to remove Simon's power (demonic) so as to make him fall. Peter also petitioned God

⁴² "Simon dixit: Iube turrim excelsam fieri ex lignis et trabibus magnis, ut ascendam in illam; et cum in illam ascendero, angeli mei ad me in aera uenient: non enim in terra inter peccatores ad me uenire possunt. Nero dixit: Volo uidere, si imples quod dici", *Passio*, 50, 4-8, p. 163.

⁴³ "Tunc Nero praecepit in campo Martio turrim excelsam fieri et praecepit ut omnes populi et omnes dignitates ad istud spectaculum conuenirent", *Passio*, 51, 9-11, p. 163.

⁴⁴ "En subito in alto uisus est omnibus uidentibus in tota urbe sup omnia templa et montes. respiciens autem Petrus et ipse mirabatur talem uisum", *Acta Petri*, 32, 11-13, p. 83.

⁴⁵ "Simon dixit: Vt scias, imperator, istos fallaces esse, mox ut in caelum ascendere mittam ad te angelos meos et faciam te ad me uenire. Nero dixit: Fac ergo, quae dicis", *Passio*, 53, 8-10, p. 165.

that Simon Magus be crippled only, not die, and that he break his legs in three places.⁴⁶ After the fall, the people threw stones at Simon Magus as they chased him out of town. Some of his followers carried him wounded on a stretcher to the outskirts of Rome to a place called *Aricia*. Immediately he was taken to a sorcerer/physician named Castor. Castor without delay performed an unsuccessful surgery on Simon Magus that resulted in his death. The narrative closes morbidly, "the angel of the Devil ended his life".⁴⁷

In the *Passio* Simon Magus climbed the tower wearing a laurel on his head and then began to fly over the crowd. Nero was so dazzled by the feat that he taunted Peter and Paul and accused them of being deceivers. Peter undaunted rebuked Nero while a tearful Paul implored Peter to do something about this mocking display of demonic power. Peter looked up at the airborne Simon Magus, rebuked the angels of Satan and commanded them to release him at once. The demons immediately were rendered powerless, they let Simon Magus loose and the magician fell on the pavement in the place called *Sacra Via*. The *Passio* adds the detail that Simon Magus was "divided" into four parts and perished.⁴⁸ After this incident Nero ordered Peter and Paul arrested. He also commanded that the body of Simon Magus be kept for three days believing that he would rise from the dead, as predicted by the magician. Peter denounced Nero for believing that Simon Magus would rise from the dead and he told the Emperor that Simon Magus was condemned to suffer eternal punishment. The entire episode was an ill-fated attempt by Simon Magus to replicate the resurrection of Jesus Christ.⁴⁹

The *Passio* and *Acta Petri* although differing considerably in numerous details they likewise share common basic features in the retelling

⁴⁶ "Citius ergo, domine, fac gratiam tuam et ostende omnibus qui me adtendunt uirtutem tuam. Sed non peto ut moriatur, sed aliquid in membris suis uexetur. Et continuo caecidit ad terra, fregit crus in tres partes. tunc eum lapadantes omnes fidentes et conlaudantes dominum", *Acta Petri*, 32, 17–21, p. 83.

⁴⁷ "Simon autem male tractatus inuenit qui eum tollerent in grauato extra Romanum Aricia. et ibi paucos dies fecit et inde tultus est quasi exiliaticum ab urbe nomine Castorem Terracina. et ibi duo medici concidebant eum, extremum autem die angelum satanae fecerunt et expiraret", *Acta Petri*, 32, 4–9, p. 85.

⁴⁸ "Et continuo dimissus cecidit in locum qui Sacra Via dicitur, et in quattuor partes fractus quattuor silices adunauit, qui sunt ad testimonium uictoriae apostolicae usque in hodiernum diem", *Passio*, 56, 9–12, p. 167.

⁴⁹ "Tunc Nero teneri fecit Petrum et Paulum in uinculis; corpus autem Simonis iussit diligenter tribus diebus custodiri; putans cum resurgere tertia die. cui Petrus dixit: Hic iam non resurget, quoniam uere mortuus est et in aeterna poena dampnatus", *Passio*, 57, 13–17, p. 167.

of this encounter between Peter and Simon Magus. They both have Simon Magus flying about over Rome mocking the apostles, Peter's prayer bringing him down, and in the end he not only dies a shameful death, he is exposed as a demonic fraud. In both versions of the story the setting is in the city of Rome, the seat of the Chief Apostles, Peter and Paul. After the encounter, the *Passio* and *Acta Petri* relate the events leading up to the martyrdom of Peter and Paul at the hands of Nero.

The major striking differences are:

Passio

1. Peter and Paul prominent
2. Debate takes place in the presence of Nero and a crowd
3. Simon Magus wears a laurel
4. Simon Falls, breaks into four parts and dies
5. Name place *Aricia* not mentioned
6. The place where Simon Magus dies is called *Sacra Via*

Acts of Peter

1. Paul is absent
2. Nero is absent, but a large crowd present
3. Simon Magus does not wear a laurel
4. Simon Magus falls and breaks a leg in three places, but survives
5. He is carried to a place called *Aricia*
6. Simon Magus dies after being operated by a sorcerer/physician Castor

Although all of these sources made their own specific contribution to the proliferation of the Fall of Simon Magus, they were not the principal ones to do so. *The Passio*, which became the standard narrative for sermons preached during the Feast of Peter and Paul on 29 June, more than these others spread the story both to popular and theological audiences, illiterate and literate, and rural and urban clergy. It is this same source which Jacobus of Voragine will principally utilize in the *Golden Legend* to tell of Peter's life, ministry, and martyrdom.⁵⁰ The Fall of Simon Magus which is the apogee of the

⁵⁰ See my analysis in, *Simon Magus and Simon Peter in a Baroque altar relief in the Cathedral of Oviedo, Spain*, "Hagiographica" 5 (1998) 141-158.

Acta Petri and *Passio*, and all subsequent writers with a few exceptions, made certain to enshrine that event in their versions. Simon Magus's Fall served the Church Fathers well to warn against magic, pride, arrogant opposition to the clergy, and heresy. Even the Church Fathers, for that matter, who did not avail themselves of this incident, on account of unavailability or willful omission likewise used the Simon Magus figure for similar purposes. Another development we witness is that in spite of expressed reluctance by some Church Fathers about the veracity of alleged "Acts" of the apostles—other than the canonical Acts—certain material, in this case the Fall, nevertheless entered into the mainstream image of Simon Peter through their writings. Significantly, the Fall of Simon Magus at the hands of the apostles—especially the intervention of Peter—should not be underestimated in view of its profound influence on arguments of papal primacy which were promoted at Rome. It would be misleading to view the *Acta Petri* and the *Passio* as reflecting only popular piety that somehow developed distant from or unrelated to the more sophisticated realms of theology, canon law, and episcopal authority.

CHAPTER NINE

“SIMON MAGUS, DOGS, AND SIMON PETER”

One avenue of research that holds immeasurable opportunity for exploration is the proliferation and usage of Christian apocryphal writings in the patristic and medieval eras.¹ This material has been preserved in patristic and medieval homilies, liturgical texts, hagiographies, theological tracts, vernacular literatures, poetry, chronicles, and in art. Simon Magus, an important figure in apocryphal literature, captured the attention of Christian exegetes and is a central character in the *Actus Petri cum Simone* (*Acts of Peter*), a source known also as the *Actus Vercellensis*, and the *Passio Sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli* (*Passio*).² In this brief essay, it is not my intention to engage all of the legends about Simon Magus, even though each merits specific attention.³ I wish to focus my efforts here on two specific legends found in the *Acts of Peter* and the *Passio*.

¹ A version of this paper was presented at the *12th International Conference on Patristic Studies*, Oxford, 21–26 August 1995. I wish to thank Seattle Pacific University for making my attendance possible. My heartfelt thanks to my friend and colleague Luke Reinsma, Seattle Pacific University, who took the time to read and critique this manuscript. Also, to Professors Robert Faerber and Barbara Fleith, University of Geneva, for useful information on key sources. Consult the research activities of the *Association pour l'étude de littérature apocryphe chrétienne*, (Institut des sciences bibliques) at the University of Lausanne, Switzerland.

² In this study I am using the standard editions as found in: *Actus Petri cum Simone* = (*Acts of Peter*). *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* (ed.) R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet. Verlag: Hildesheim-New York, 1972, pp. 45–104, and in the same volume *Passio sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli* = (*Passio*). *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* (ed.) R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet. Leipzig, 1891, pp. 119–177. The standard translation of the *Acts of Peter* is in *New Testament Apocrypha* (ed.) W. Schneemelcher and (trans.) R. McL. Wilson. Vol. 2. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1965, pp. 279–322. There is a translation of the *Passio* in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*. Vol. 8. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1951, pp. 477–485.

³ This article is part of my ongoing monograph, *Simon Magus in the Early Christian and Medieval Tradition*. See also my preliminary articles, “Sexual Depravity, Doctrinal Error, and Character Assassination in the fourth-century: Jerome against the Priscillianists,” *Studia Patristica* 28 (1993), 29–38; “Jerome’s polemic against Priscillian in his *Letter to Ctesiphon* (133, 4),” *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 39 (1993), 309–332 and “Simon Magus and Priscillian in the *Commonitorium* of Vincent of Lérins,” *Vigiliae Christianae* 49, 2 (1995), 180–188. For an overview of the major Simon Magus legends see my, “Simon Magus: The patristic-medieval traditions and historiography,” *Apocrypha* 7 (1996), 147–165.

Scholars conversant with the *Acts of Peter* and the *Passio* are familiar with the fascinating encounters between Simon Magus and Simon Peter involving ravenous dogs.⁴ Evidently these apocryphal dog stories found a place in the imagination of patristic-medieval writers and artists.⁵ A survey and analysis of these episodes in the *Acts of Peter* and the *Passio* in the ensuing centuries will reveal the extent of their influence and the place that they held in the broader typological usage of the image of the dog.

In the *Acts of Peter* a dog plays a prominent role in the conflict between Simon Magus and Simon Peter.⁶ The first reference involves the arrival of Simon Peter to Rome to combat the magician. Simon Magus had brought Rome under his magical influences, including the prominent Senator Marcellus in whose house he was staying and who had been "persuaded by his charms" (*morantem in domo Marcelli senatoris persuasum* 8.32–33, p. 54).⁷ Marcellus had a well established reputation as a generous almsgiver to widows, orphans, pilgrims, and the poor (8.1–5, p. 55). In a sudden turn of events, a

⁴ The few modern studies that have touched upon these episodes have carried out primarily internal critical analyses. Two fundamental studies on the *Acts of Peter* are by G. Poupon, "Les Acts de Pierre et leur remaniement," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römische Welt*, II, 25, 6 (1988), 4363–4383 and C. M. Thomas, "Word and Deed: The *Acts of Peter* and Orality," *Apocrypha* 3 (1992), 125–164, on the dog story, at 138–143 for a brief discussion. Both articles contain copious bibliography and address many issues surrounding this document. It comes somewhat as a surprise that the *Passio* has not received the same scholarly attention. I hope that this study will help to alleviate this inattention.

⁵ A study that explores the image of the dog in a broad global context is in, P. Dale-Green, *Dog*, Rupert Hart-Davis, 1966, on the Middle Ages see pp. 123–125 and 150–155.

⁶ For discussion on the dog incidents in the *Acts of Peter* see, R. A. Lipsius, *Die Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden* 2.1. Braunschweig, 1887, pp. 174–194, at 178–180. G. Ficker, *Die Petrusakten. Beiträge zu ihrem Verständnis* Leipzig, 1903, pp. 19–20. J. Flamon, "Les Actes apocryphes de Pierre," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 9 (1908), 233–254, 465–490, and for further general discussion, by the same author 10 (1909), 5–29, 245–277; 11 (1910), 5–28, 223–256, 447–470, and 675–692; 12 (1911), 209–230 and 437–450. An important study that is fundamental still is by L. Vouaux, *Les Actes de Pierre*. Paris, 1922. A discussion on textual matters is in Schmeekeler, *New Testament Apocrypha*, 2:259–275, with relevant bibliography. For a consideration of redaction problems in the dog story see, Thomas, "Word and Deed," pp. 138–143.

⁷ There is an interesting parallel and modification in the *Acts of Peter* of the Simon Magus account in the Acts of the Apostles 8:9. The latter text reads, "Now for some time a man named Simon had practiced sorcery in the city and amazed all the people of Samaria." Samaria has been replaced with Rome, the spiritual seat of Simon Peter, and its environs.

group of repentant followers of Simon Magus sought out Peter to plead with him to come to Rome to rescue Senator Marcellus from the deceptions of Simon Magus and the "bitterness" that the Senator now harbored in his heart against God, (sed si qua in te domini nostri misericordia et praeceptorum eius bonitatis permanet, succurras huius errori, qui tam magno numero in serbos dei aelemosynas fecit 8.20-22, p. 55). Moved by the insistent rogations of the brethren Peter traveled to Rome, where he condemned Simon Magus before a large crowd in a passionate speech. In his sermon, however, Peter identified the "real" culprit working within Simon Magus, the Devil, arch-enemy of God and of His Church, after which he elaborated a lengthy inventory of the Devil's crimes, chiefly: the Fall of Adam and Eve (8.27-30, p. 55) and the betrayal of Judas (8.30-32, p. 55), both damnable examples of prideful treason against God. In fact, the Devil and Simon Magus are likened by Peter to ravenous wolves, (lupus rapax, uorator et dissipator uitae aeternae! 8.26-27, p. 55); towards the end of the homily, Peter again rebuked the Devil/Simon Magus for attempting to carry off as a wolf the "sheep of Christ",— (tu enim, lupe rapax, uolens abripere pecora quae tua non sunt, sed sunt Christi Iesu qui custodit ea diligenter summa cum diligentia 8.16-18, p. 56).⁸ Peter's preaching touched off a new wave of converts who abandoned Simon Magus, and the newly converted brethren now zealously encouraged him to further confront the magician. Stirred by the enthusiastic crowd, Peter immediately set off towards the house of Senator Marcellus to seek out the false magician (9.19-24, p. 56).

When Peter arrived at the gate of the house of Marcellus, he commanded the doorkeeper to inform Simon Magus, who was hiding in the house, that he was waiting for him at the entrance. The doorkeeper who was unable to lie to the apostle returned immediately and told Peter that Simon Magus had instructed him not to tell Peter, whether it was night or day, that he was hiding in the house,

⁸ Once again, the allusions to the New Testament are prominent, particularly Jesus's thrice admonitions to Simon Peter to "Feed my sheep," in John 21:15-18. Also, wolves as a type of evil in scripture are noteworthy: prophets as wolves in sheep's clothing (Mt. 7:15) and the world as wolves, Mt. 10:16. The shepherd, in this case Simon Peter in the *Acts of Peter*, as protector of the sheep from wolves, John 10:12. Finally, the wolf as a dividing influence of the flock (the Church) Acts 20:29 requires little effort on our part to apply it to the schismatic activities of Simon Magus in the *Acts of Peter*.

(*praeceptum autem habeo: recognouit enim te externa die introisse in urbem, dixit mihi: "Siue interdus siue noctu adque hora quae uenerit, dic quoniam non sum intus"* 9.28–31, p. 56). Apparently, Simon Magus already had been tipped off that Peter was looking for him. Sympathetic to the doorkeeper's obligations to the master of the house, Peter turned to the crowd and promised them that they would witness a "great and marvelous wonder" (*Magnum et mirabilem nostrum uisuri estis* 9.33–34, p. 56).

Peter noticed that a dog had been chained at the entrance to Marcellus's house. Whether Simon Magus personally placed the canine there or whether it was a watchdog belonging to Senator Marcellus is unclear. In any case, Peter unchained the dog. To the amazement of all, at that moment the dog miraculously acquired a human voice and asked of Peter, "What do you wish for me to do, servant of the ineffable living God?" (*Quid me iubes facere, seruus inenarrabilis dei uiui?* 9.3, p. 57). Peter ordered the dog to go into the house to tell Simon Magus to come out immediately and face him. The dog obediently carried out Peter's command. When Simon heard the dog speak, he and those with him were dumbfounded at the sight of this speaking canine (*Audiens enim haec Simon et respiciens incredibilem uisum, excidit a uerbis quibus seducebat circumstantes, omnium stupentium* 9.11–13, p. 57).

The focus of this section of the narrative is not on Simon Magus stupefied, but on Marcellus converted. When Marcellus witnessed the miracle of the speaking dog, he went straightway to the doorway, threw himself at Peter's feet, and pleaded that he not experience eternal fire with Simon Magus (*non me tradidi cum peccatis Simonis igni aeterno* 10.23–24, p. 57). Praying the mercy of God upon Marcellus and his entire household, Peter in full view of the crowd embraced Marcellus as a sign of his re-entry into the Church (10.11–24, and 11.26, p. 58). Suddenly, a man in the crowd began to laugh mockingly, at which time Peter recognized that he was demon possessed called him out of the throng. Still under demonic control the man ran into the courtyard of the house and gave out a shout and slammed himself against a wall. Then in a loud voice he proclaimed that Simon Magus was in the house arguing with the dog, who was giving the magician an earful; the dog would die, he prophesied, as soon as his work for Peter had finished (11.25–31, p. 58 and 11.1–4, p. 59). In order to further display the power of God and to expose the weakness of Simon Magus, Peter exorcised

the demon out of the young man—the inference being that he had also been under the magical influences of Simon Magus.⁹

The dog once again comes to center stage as we get further details about the conversation at Marcellus's house between the dog and Simon Magus. Having recovered from the shock of a speaking dog, Simon Magus commanded the dog to tell Peter that he was not in the house. The dog refused to obey Simon, however, and harshly rebuked Simon as a shameless man who would not even listen to a dumb animal with a human voice sent by God to uncover his deception (12.1–4, p. 60). In the *Acts of Peter* no hope is held out whatsoever for Simon's repentance, however. The dog makes it clear that this extraordinary display of divine intervention was intended only to effect the redemption of those who had been deceived by his magic and false teachings (et hoc non tui causa, sed horum quos seducebas et in perditionem mittebas 12.8–9, p. 60). After his eloquent speech the dog immediately ran out of the house, and the people who had been led astray by Simon Magus likewise abandoned him (Simone solo derelicto, 12.13, p. 60).

The dog went to Peter, now with the former disciples of Simon Magus, to report to him the details of his conversation with the Magus. The dog seized the occasion to prophesy that a great contest would take place between Simon Magus and Peter, which would result in many more converts to the faith (12.13–18, p. 60). As soon as the dog finished prophesying, he sat at Peter's feet and died, (haec cum dixisset canis, caecidit ante pedes apostoli Petri et deposuit spiritum 12.19–20, p. 60), just as had been predicted earlier by the demon possessed man (et postquam perfecit mysterium quod illi praecepisti, ante pedes tuos morietur 11.3–4, p. 59). Although the story ends with the dramatic conversion of numerous people who heard the dog speak, there still remained some in the crowd demanding even more "signs" from Peter. In the end, however, the apostolic mission accomplished the rescue of Marcellus and the throngs from the magical deceptions of Simon Magus.

The second major episode between Simon Magus and Simon Peter involving dogs is found in the *Passio*.¹⁰ The confrontation in question

⁹ This incident is analogous in one detail to the demon possessed young man that Jesus exorcised as recorded in Luke 4:33–35. In each case respectively the young men sarcastically mock Jesus and Peter in public.

¹⁰ R. A. Lipsius, *Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten* 2.1, pp. 366–390 for a consideration

takes place in the presence of the Emperor Nero, who had been swayed by Simon's magical powers to favor the magician and to persecute the apostles Peter and Paul. Peter told Nero that Simon Magus could not, as he had claimed, read the minds of those around him. Peter proposed to the Emperor a test to prove once and for all the false claims of Simon Magus. Peter asked Nero to have a loaf of barley bread brought to him secretly, that is, unknown to Simon Magus. When they had all gathered together for the "contest," Peter pressed Nero to ask Simon Magus what Peter had been doing and thinking prior to their meeting. Unable to reveal the truth, Simon Magus attempted to turn the tables on Peter by asking him instead to reveal what was on his own mind at that moment. Undaunted by this trickery, Peter continued to press Simon Magus once again to disclose his own thoughts and deeds earlier that day (27.5–6, p. 143). In an aside, the narrative reminds the reader that Peter had secretly blessed and broken the bread into several pieces, which were hidden up his sleeves from Simon Magus's view, (*Petrus enim benedixerat panem quem acceperat ordeaceum et fregerat et dextera atque sinistra in manica collegerat* 26.3–4, p. 143).

At this critical juncture in the confrontation a visibly humiliated and frustrated Simon Magus, having failed to reveal Peter's thoughts and deeds, became uncontrollably enraged and cried out, "Let Great Dogs come forth and devour him before Caesar,"—(*Procedant canes magni et deuorent eum in conspectu Caesaris*, 27.6–7, p. 143). Instantly, large growling dogs miraculously appeared and lunged at Peter to bite him. Peter unshaken by the sight of the ravenous dogs maintained his composure, stretched out his hands in prayer, offered the dogs the blessed bread which he had in his sleeves, and the dogs upon eating [the bread] vanished as suddenly as they had appeared, (27.7–11, p. 143). Turning to Nero, Peter reminded the Emperor that he had proven by his own deeds that he knew in advance what Simon Magus had all along been plotting against him. Peter also asked Nero to recall that Simon had promised to command a group of angels to come against Peter, but instead because of his inferior magical sorceries could only muster up dog(like) angels, (*nam qui*

of the various versions of the *Passio*. A brief comparison of the *Passio* with the *Acta Nerei et Achillei* is in, J. Flaminio, "Les actes apocryphes de Pierre," *RHE* 11 (1910), 447–470.

angelos promiserat contra me esse uenturos, canes exhibuit, ut se ostenderet no diuinos angelos sed caninos habere 27.13-14, p. 143). The story moves on to more confrontations between Simon Peter and Simon Magus before Nero that do not involve any canines. The apostle eventually vanquishes Simon Magus and although Peter will suffer martyrdom at the hands of Nero at the end of the story, his death is clearly displayed as a triumph for the Church.

The dog stories in the *Acts of Peter* and the *Passio* survived in the patristic and medieval centuries and were invoked or adapted in creative fashion. The image of the dog, however, as a type for evil or good as found in these apocryphal documents is only a part of a much larger tradition. The image of "Dog" as metaphor became exceedingly useful for biblical exegetes who used it repeatedly to combat heresy, magic, and moral lapses. There are three clearly identifiable usages of the dog in the *Acts of Peter* and the *Passio* summarized in our comments above which became integrated into the broader tradition and which are the focus of the remainder of this article: (1) The dog as preacher or messenger of God's Word; (2) The portrayal of dogs as "enemies" of the Faith; and (3) The use of bread by Simon Peter to pacify the hostile dogs.

1. *Classical and Biblical Images of the Dog*

Unique to the apocryphal narratives is the appearance of talking dogs, a feature that becomes even more extraordinary when compared to Greco-Roman and biblical references to canines.

The most famous dog in all of Greco-Roman literature is, of course, Cerberus, the guardian of Hades, found in a wide range of sources.¹¹ Hesiod in the *Theogony* described him as a beast who, "eats

¹¹ For general discussions and background on Cerberus see, R. Mitra, "On the origin of the Myth about Kerberos," *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (May, 1881), 91-97. M. Bloomfield, *Cerberus, The Dog of Hades. The History of an Idea*. Chicago, 1905. H. J. Rose, *A Handbook of Greek Mythology including its extension to Rome*, 4th ed. New York, 1950, pp. 31, 41, 210-212, 214-216 and 228. O. Immisch, "Kerberos," in *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, II, I. (ed.) W. H. Roscher. Hildesheim, 1965, cols. 1119-1135. Dale-Green, *Dog*, pp. 85, 89, 91-92. P. Grimal, *The Dictionary of Classical Mythology*, (trans.) A. R. Maxwell-Hyslop. Blackwell, 1986, pp. 96 and 478. T. H. Carpenter, *Art and Myth in Ancient Greece: A handbook*. Thames and Hudson, 1991, pp. 129-130 and illustrations references at 251.

raw flesh, the brazen-voice hound of Hades, fifty-headed, relentless and strong." Homer and Apollodorus, describing Heracles's capture of Cerberus, did not even mention his howling.¹² Ovid, however, in the *Metamorphoses* said that, "Cerberus reared up his threefold head and uttered his threefold baying." Horace mentioned only that "foul breath" came forth from his mouth.¹³ Apuleius focused vividly on the voracious appetite of Cerberus.¹⁴ Virgil, in the *Aeneid*, took notice of Cerberus's loud barking, presumably amplified by his three throats.¹⁵ In none of these and other references, however, is Cerberus endowed with the ability to speak with a human voice. Even in the medieval centuries, the imaginative Dante uses the insatiably hungry Cerberus in Canto VI of the *Inferno* to symbolize the vice of Gluttony. Although, Cerberus, according to Dante, "bays in his triple gullet and doglike growls," not once in the Canto does he utter so much as a syllable.¹⁶

In the Old and New Testaments the dog has no small place: references spanning from Exodus to the Revelation of St. John.¹⁷ The citations are many and not directly relevant to the question of talking dogs; they do reinforce the fact that canines do not speak as humans do in these biblical texts. The only animals in the Bible fortunate enough to speak with a human voice are the serpent in Genesis (3:1-5) and Balaam's donkey in the book of Numbers (22:21-34).¹⁸

¹² Hesiod, *Theogony*, 311-315, pp. 100-103 and 768-775, pp. 134-135, in *Hesiod. The Homeric Hymns and Homeric*, (trans.) H. G. Evelyn-White. Loeb Classical Library. Harvard, 1970. Homer, *The Iliad* 8.366-370, pp. 364-365 in, *Homer. The Iliad* (trans.) A. T. Murray. Loeb Classical Library. Harvard, 1978. Apollodorus, *Library* 2.5.12, pp. 99-100, in *Gods and Heroes of the Greeks: The "Library" of Apollodorus*, (trans.) M. Simpson. University of Massachusetts, 1976.

¹³ Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 4.450-463, pp. 208-211 and a shorter reference at 7.406-412, pp. 370-371 in Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, vol. 1, (trans.) F. J. Miller. Loeb Classical Library. Harvard, 1984. Horace, *Odes* 2.19.29-32 and 3.11.17-21, pp. 162-163 and 216-219, in Horace, *The Odes and Epodes*, (trans.) C. E. Bennett. Loeb Classical Library. Harvard, 1978.

¹⁴ Apuleius, 6.20, in Apuleius, *The Golden Ass*, (trans.) W. Adlington. Loeb Classical Library. Harvard, 1928, pp. 276-279.

¹⁵ "Cerberus haec ingens iarratu regna nifauci personat adverso recubans immanis in antro," *Aeneid* 6.417-418, p. 138 in, *The Aeneid of Virgil. Books 1-6*, (ed.) R. D. Williams. MacMillan, 1972.

¹⁶ Dante, *Inferno* 6.14, p. 104 in, *The Comedy of Dante Alighieri the Florentine. Cantica I Hell "L'inferno"*, (trans.) Dorothy L. Sayers. Penguin Books, 1977.

¹⁷ Young's *Analytical Concordance* lists 40 references to dogs, with 31 in the Old Testament and 9 in the New Testament, in *Young's Analytical Concordance to the Bible* (ed.) Robert Young. Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1974, p. 267. All references to the Bible are from the *New International Version*.

¹⁸ The Devil is twice called "that ancient serpent" in the book of Revelation 12:9

The appearance of dogs in the Bible is strictly in the metaphorical sense—either to affirm virtue as in (Luke 16:21) or to condemn vice (Proverbs 26:11).¹⁹

Like the canines in Greco-Roman and biblical sources the dogs as depicted in the *Passio* are beasts of terrifying character, symbolic of the enemies of the Hebrews in the Old Testament and of the Church in the New Testament. In the *Passio*, we recall, the dogs do not have the ability to utilize human speech. In sharp contrast, the canine in the *Acts of Peter* is quite unique for its speaking ability as it assists Simon Peter in his contests with Simon Magus. In either case the dog as a faithful help-mate of Peter [the Church] is a common theme in patristic-medieval literature.

The dogs in the *Acts of Peter* and the *Passio*, although used distinctly, are both intended to be seen metaphorically as "preachers" of God. In the *Acts of Peter* the added touch is that, much like Balaam's donkey, the dog is given human speech to convey God's message. But the dogs in the *Passio*, who do not possess human speech, are no less the "messengers" of God's will in that they serve as a warning to beware of the enemies of the faith, as in the frequently cited Proverbs 26:11, "As a dog returns to its vomit, so a fool repeats his folly." In the Early Church the Fathers and even sources extraneous to the Bible did not fail to use the image of the dog as either a positive or negative type.

2. Dogs in the Patristic Era

The dog in the *Acts of Peter*, messenger of God and helpmate of Peter [the Church], is part of a "positive" image perpetuated by some Church Fathers.

and 20:2, a cross-reference to Genesis 3:1-5. Likewise in the New Testament there is a direct citation of Balaam's talking donkey in 2 Peter 2:15-16, a text that chastises evildoers. On Balaam and the donkey see, Elena Conde Guerri, "Interpretación de la escena de Balaam y su Burra (Via Latina B, F y C?) En las fuentes patristicas y nuevas vinculaciones iconográficas," in *Miscellanea del Prof. Alejandro Recio Viganzones. Historiam Pictura Refert*. Città del Vaticano, 1994, pp. 141-174.

¹⁹ It is telling that there is nearly not a single instance in the Old Testament of a clear positive reference to dogs, with *Tobit* as the exception, see note 21. The New Testament follows this tradition with only two exceptions, the reference in Luke already cited, and in Matthew 15:27, when the woman responds to Jesus, "Yes, Lord," she said, "but even the dogs eat the crumbs that fall from their master's table," even so, this latter example is still not a generous portrayal of the dog.

In *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, Augustine praised the good dog for being faithful to its master and guarding his home from potential enemies through incessant barking.²⁰ Ambrose in the *Hexameron* echoed this point noting how the barking of a dog is given by God to protect their masters and their homes. The bishop of Milan, then, admonished Christians to imitate the dog by using their "voices" [barking] for Christ to protect the Church from ravenous wolves, a type of the enemy of Christ. Like the Christian who does not witness to others Christ's truth, a silent watch-dog, then, is slothful.²¹ In *Explanation of the Psalms* Cassiodorus compared converted Jews to dogs who "now converted defend the city (that is, holy Church)"; this type of dog is further representative of the faithful believer, for the Canaanite woman says, "Yes Lord, . . . even the dogs eat the crumbs that fall from their masters' table," (Matthew 15:27).²² Like zealous converts, Cassiodorus wrote, good dogs, "never cease to bark for the Lord and guard His house with the most prudent intelligence"; thus these formerly evil dogs have been transformed [converted] by the Lord into faithful dogs now in his service.²³ Caesarius of Arles harkened to the image of a shepherd and his barking dogs, ever alert in protecting their flock (Church) from the wolf (the Devil) who approaches with the intent of devouring them.²⁴ Gregory the Great compared

²⁰ "Canes laudabiles, non detestabiles; fidem servantes domino suo, et pro eius domo contra inimicos latrantes," 67.32. *MPL* 36:833.

²¹ "Quid autem de canibus loquar, quibus insitum est natura quadam referre gratiam et sollicitas excubias pro dominorum salute praetendere? unde ad inmemores beneficii et desides atque ignavos clamat scriptura: canes muti, nescientes latrare. canes ergo sunt, qui nouerint latrare pro dominis, nouerint sua tecta defendere. unde te tu discis uocem tuam exercere pro Christo, quando ouile Christi incursant lupi graues, discis in ore tuo uerbum tenere, ne quasi mutus canis commissam tibi fidei custodiam quodam praeuaricationis silentio deseruisse uidearis," *Exameron*. 6.17. *Sancti Ambrosii Opera*, CSEL 32.1 Vienna, 1897, p. 213. Ambrose cited the dog which the angel Raphael led to follow the son of Tobias, in *Tobias* 6.1; 3.8; 8.3; and 11.3 (9) in the Old Testament apocrypha, pp. 213-214.

²² "In eadem comparatione permansit. Canum enim consuetudo est illa loca defendere, in quibus se norunt alimoniam reperire: ita et Iudaei iam conuersi ciuitatem, id est sanctam Ecclesiam defendunt, quam correctis praedicationibus circuibunt," *Psalmos* 58.196-200.7. Magni Aurelii Cassiodori, *Expositio Psalmorum*. 1-LXX. CCLL, 97, pars II, I Turnholti, 1958, pp. 523 and 596-597.

²³ "Isti enim canes pro Domino latrare non desinunt, domumque eius cautissima sagacitate custodiunt," and "quia prius inimici fuerunt, qui postea clamoris latratibus Ecclesiam Domini uindicarunt. Sed hoc ipsum a quo fieri potuisset, adiecit, id est *ab ipso*," *Psalmos* 67.479-484 24, p. 597.

²⁴ "Lupus venit ad ouile ouium, quaerit invadere, quaerit lacerare, quaerit devorare. vigilant pastores, latrant canes: nihil potest, non aufert, non occidit, sed tamen

the dogs that licked the wounds of Lazarus (Luke 16:19–21) to the Church which mends and heals the sins [open sores] of those gone astray.²⁵ In *Moralia in Iob* Gregory provided a long list of well-known heretics that had been rebuked by the Church [dogs] through their diligent preaching [barking].²⁶ And in the *Hexameron* Basil praised canines because, "the dog is grateful and constant in friendship." As proof he repeated the story of how some dogs were reported to have remained with the bodies of their murdered masters, and had even assisted in identifying their assassins.²⁷

Among the Church Fathers, John Malale in the *Chronographia* recalled the encounter of Peter in the *Acts of Peter* in order to assert the spiritual authority of Peter over and against the false magic of Simon Magus. The extraordinary intervention of the dog through the exercise of its human voice is highlighted. The brief narrative triumphantly proclaims that in "all things Simon Magus was vanquished and that many believed Peter and were baptized."²⁸ John Malale affirmed the superiority of apostolic faith by having the dog declare Peter as the servant of the Most High God before a large crowd and with a human voice. What is missing is the dog's debriefing Peter on the details of his conversations with Simon Magus and its dying at Peter's feet. Only two other patristic texts have preserved scantily the basic elements of this episode from the *Acts of Peter*: Commodianus, in a few lines of his lengthy *Carmen de duobus populis*, (Et, canem, ut Simoni diceret: Clamaris a Petro!); a Syrian text in a single line, (Ingressus urbem ad ianuam domus Simonem canem

lupus venit, lupus redit," *Sermo* 140.4, in Caesarii Arclatensis, *Sermones*. CCSL, 103. Pars I. Turnholi, 1953, p. 578.

²⁵ "Quia ergo praedicatores sancti peccata damnant, confessionem vero peccatorum approbant, dicentes: Confitemini alterutrum peccata vestra, et orate pro invicem ut salvemini (Jac. v, 16), ulcera Lazari canes lingunt. Sancti etenim doctores dum gentilium confessiones accipiunt, mentium vulnera saluti restituunt," *Homiliarum in Evangelia*, 2, *Homilia* 40, MPL 76:1303.

²⁶ "Patres vero haereticorum dicimus. eos videlicet quos haeresiarchas vocamus; de quorum perversa praedicatione, id est locutionis semine, sequentes sunt populi in errore generati. Sancta ergo Ecclesia cum canibus gregis sui haereticorum patres ponere dedignatur, quia inventores errorum dijudicando respuit, eosque inter veros patres numerare contemnit," 20.6.16. MPL 76:116.

²⁷ *Homilia*, 9.3 and 4, in *Basilii Magni Opera Omnia*. MPG 29:191 and 198.

²⁸ *Liber* 10, MPG 97:383–386. For studies on John Malala see, Lipsius, *Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, 2.1, pp. 207–217. Vouaux, *Actes de Pierre*, pp. 188–196 and Flamion, "Les Actes Apocryphes de Pierre," *RHE* 12 (1911), 437–450.

invenit et ei.)²⁹ Another patristic source that heavily depended upon the *Acts of Peter* and which gave significant place to the dog stories is the *Acta Nerei et Achillei*, believed to have been written in the fifth and sixth centuries. This text incidentally appended important novel-ties that were incorporated into medieval versions of the *Acts of Peter* and which are discussed below.³⁰

²⁹ *Commodiani Carmina. Carmen de duobus populis* (ed.) I. Martin CCSL, 128. Turnholt, 1960, lines 626 and 629–630, p. 96. These verses have been the subject of some scholarly scrutiny, see G. B. de Rossi, "Conferenze della società di cultori della Cristiana Archeologia in Roma," *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana* 4 ser. 1 (1882), 105–109, at 107–108. Ficker, *Die Petrusakten*, p. 20. H. Brewer, *Kommodian von Gaza. Ein Arelatensischer Laiendichter aus der Mitte des fünften Jahrhunderts*. Forschungen zur Christlichen Literatur und Dogmengeschichte, 6. Paderborn, 1906, pp. 317–318. Flamion, "Les Actes Apocryphes de Pierre," *RHE* 11 (1910), 228. Vouaux, *Actes de Pierre*, pp. 142–143. G. Stuhlfauth, *Die apokryphen Petrusgeschichten in der altchristlichen kunst*. Berlin-Leipzig, 1925, pp. 8–9. G. Turcio, "San Pietro e i Cani," *Ecclesia* 7 (1948) 297–299, at 298. Relevant also, K. Thraede, "Beiträge zur Datierung Commodians," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 2 (1959), 90–114. A broader discussion about Commodianus is in, J. Fontaine, *Naissance de la poésie dans l'occident chrétien*. Études Augustiniennes, 1981, pp. 39–52. Schneemelcher has recently argued that mention of the dog and infant by Commodianus prove that he knew *only* about the speaking animals in the *Acts of Peter*, but that it does not demonstrate an acquaintance with the entire work, in *New Testament Apocrypha*, vol. 2, p. 261. Are we then to believe that the *Acts of Peter* circulated in snippets that fell into the hands of interested readers here and there? The entire tone and content of the *Carmen* suggests strongly that Commodianus was well versed and had more than a passing acquaintance with most of his sources, including perhaps the *Acts of Peter*.

For the Syrian testimony see the critical edition by, A. Baumstark, *Die Petrus- und Paulusakten in der litterarischen ueberlieferung der Syrischen Kirche*. Leipzig, 1902, pp. 76–77. For the diffusion of the *Acts of Peter* in the Near East see, Flamion, "Les Actes Apocryphes de Pierre," *RHE* 12 (1911), 209–230 and 437–450.

³⁰ There are two standard editions of the Greek text, A. Wirth, *Acta SS Nerei et Achillei graece edidit*. Leipzig, 1890 and H. Achelis, *Acta SS Nerei et Achillei*. Leipzig, 1893, who corrects and adjusts Wirth's edition. F. Schaefer, argued persuasively that the original text was in Latin, "Die Acten der heiligen Nereus und Achilleus," *Römische Quartalschrift* (1894) 89–119, and that text is in the *Acta Sanctorum*. Maii, vol. 3, (ed.) G. Henschenio and D. Papebrochio. Paris, 1866, chapter 3.13, p. 10. Commentary on the *Acta Nerei Achillei* is in, de Rossi, "Di tre antichi edifici componenti la chiesa dei ss. Cosma e Damiano; e di una contigua chiesa dedicata agli apostoli Pietro e Paolo." *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana* 5 (1867), 66–71, at 70–71. Lipsius offers a detailed analysis, *Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, pp. 200–206. Brief yet relevant comments are in, Ficker, *Die Petrusakten*, pp. 47–51. Flamion carried out a marvelous comparison with the *Acts of Peter* in, "Les Actes Apocryphes de Pierre," *RHE* 11 (1910), 447–470. Vouaux presents a summary of the scholarship up to that time, *Actes de Pierre*, pp. 155–160. C. Schmidt demonstrates further dependencies and similarities between both texts, "Studien zu den alten Petrusakten," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 43 (1924), 321–348. See also, Stuhlfauth, *Apokryphen Petrusgeschichten*, p. 7, note 2. For pithy insightful remarks see Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha*, vol. 2, p. 268.

In the preceding summary of select Church Fathers there are specific character traits attached to dogs that are congruent with those found in the *Acts of Peter*. Augustine, Cassiodorus, and Caesarius of Arles stressed the faithfulness of a dog towards its master and its willingness to act as guardian. In the *Acts of Peter*, the converted dog remained unwaveringly faithful to Peter; and as a symbolic act of humility once having completed its mission, the canine sat at Peter's feet and died. The image of Peter as Shepherd with his faithful sheep-dog is conveniently extrapolated into the *Acts of Peter*, where the metaphor is strengthened by the fact that twice in the narrative Simon Magus is depicted as a ravenous wolf (lupus rapax—8.26–27, p. 55). In the second reference, Simon Magus is called again a ravenous wolf desirous of carrying off the sheep [of Christ] that are not his own; rather they belong rightfully to Jesus Christ, who cares for and protects them, (tu enim, lupe rapax, uolens abripere pecora quae tua non sunt, sed sunt Christi Iesu qui custodit ea diligenter summa cum diligentia 8.16–18, p. 56).

Ambrose of Milan called upon Christians to protect the Church from wolves by preaching God's truth with their own voices, as dogs bark incessantly to protect their owners and their homes. Similarly drawing attention to the deep and abiding friendship between a dog and its master, Caesarius of Arles and Basil employed in their *Sermons* the full range of imagery: the shepherd, barking dogs, sheep in need of protection, and the wolf as predator.³¹ The dog in the *Acts of Peter*, too, continually "barks" with a human voice against the wolf, Simon Magus. And Gregory the Great, too, recalled with pastoral concern the compassion that the dog demonstrated toward downcast and

An example of a medieval commemoration of the *Acta Nerei et Achillei* which omits the dogs, but does mention Simon Magus is the liturgical twelfth-century poem by Adam of St. Victor, which reads:

Ibi Priscus et Furius
 Simonis Magi complices
 Avertebant attentius
 A sana fide simplices

(lines 29–32)

with an English translation, in D. S. Wrangham, *The Liturgical Poetry of Adam of St. Victor: from the text of Gauthier*, 2 vols. London, 1881, 2:60–65, at 62–63.

³¹ Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones*. CCSL, 103, pars 1. *Sermo* 140.4, p. 578. Basil, *Homilia* 9.3, MPG 29:191.

sickly Lazarus, so as to stress once again the healing mission of the Church; the same lesson was echoed by Augustine and Caesarius.³²

Cassiodorus, as noted above, used Psalm 58 to argue that converted Jews were like tamed dogs committed to the service of the Church, as evidenced by their ceaseless barking to protect their Lord and to guard His Church. Prior to their conversion the Jews had been "evil dogs," he reminded his readers. In his interpretation of Psalm 67 he again turned his attention to previous enemies of the Church who had been converted to the cause of Christ; they are dogs now defending the Lord's Church with noisy barking [preaching]. The psalmist, according to Cassiodorus, emphasized that the source of their conversion was *ab ipso*, meaning the Lord, who changes bitter to sweet, sadness to joy, cursed illness into sound health.³³ In the *Acts of Peter* we witness a similar spiritual liberation or conversion of the guardian dog at Marcellus's house. Apparently the dog was there at Simon's bidding to prevent Peter from entering Marcellus's home since he already knew ahead of time that Peter had arrived at Rome the previous day, (*praeceptum autem habeo* (the doorkeeper speaking): *recognovit enim te externa die introisse in urbem* 9.28–29, p. 56). When the account says that Peter walked up to the dog and let him loose, it entailed a "conversion" or release of the dog from spiritual bondage to Simon Magus into the service of Simon Peter and release from the flesh of animal to human intelligence, (*Et respiciens Petrus canem magnum catena grande ligatum, accedens soluit eum* 9.34 and 1, pp. 56–57).

One of the most fascinating adaptations of the Marcellus story in the *Acts of Peter* is found in a document known as the *Toldoth Jeshu* (Generations of Jesus)—a Hebrew anti-Christian work. Its editor, Hugh J. Schonfield, has noted, "This document can hardly be

³² "Canum etenim lingua vulnus dum lingit, curat, quia et doctores sancti dum in confessione peccati nostri nos instuunt . . . ulcera Lazari canes lingunt," *Homiliarum in Evangelia*, liber 2, *Homilia* 40, *MPL* 76:1302–1303. Augustine, "Canes ergo qui ea lingeant, Gentes sunt, quos homines peccatores et immundos dicebant Iudaei, et tamen passiones Domini in Sacramentis corporis et sanguinis ejus, per totum jam orbem suavitate lambunt devotissima," *Quaestionum Evangeliorum*, liber 2.38, *MPL* 35:1352. Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo*. 158A.1 and *Sermo* 164 in its entirety, and *Sermo* 183.3 in *Sermones*. *CCSL*, 104, pars 1, 2. Turnholt, 1953, pp. 648–650, 672–675, and 745–746.

³³ "*Ab ipso* utique Domino, qui amara mutat in dulcedinem, tristitiam uertit in gaudium, acritudines detestabiles in salutem," Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*, *CCSL*, 97, pars II, 1. *Psalm* 58.196–200.7 and *Psalm* 67.480–486.24, pp. 523 and 597.

described as a Gospel, and rather resembles the sectional Passion stories in Christian apocrypha."³⁴ The resemblance goes beyond such a casual similarity in literary genre, however. Schonfield has demonstrated convincingly the direct borrowings and adaptations of the life of Simon Magus as found in the *Acts of Peter* and the *Passio* into the *Toldoth Jeshu*. Although the *Toldoth* did not reach Europe until the beginning of the ninth century, Schonfield has established that it was originally written in late-fourth-century Tiberias.³⁵

My focus in the *Toldoth* is on the passages that have a direct bearing on the theme of dogs. According to the translation by Schonfield, the account reads in part:

And in the temple was the foundation-stone . . . and on it were graven the letters of the Ineffable Name . . . Dogs of brass were bound to two pillars of iron at the gate of the place of burnt-offerings, so that whosoever entered and learnt the letters, as soon as he went forth the dogs bayed at him: if he then looked at them the letters went forth from his mind. . . . And as he [Jesus] went forth the dogs of the pillars bayed at him, and the letters went forth from his mind.³⁶

It does not take very long for the reader of this text to realize how extensively the Marcellus account has been altered: here Jesus is Simon Magus, the place of burnt-offerings is Marcellus's house, instead of one, two brass dogs act as guardians of this temple of special knowledge, the dogs howl and do not speak with human voices. Jesus (Simon Magus) overcomes the dogs by learning the mysterious "letters," and the howling appears to be an act of acknowledgment and submission to Jesus (Simon Magus). In fact, in a rather curious way the *Toldoth* recounts the arrival of Simon Magus to Marcellus's house *before* Peter in the *Acts of Peter* shows up to call Simon Magus out for their contest. In the final analysis, the dogs in the *Toldoth* are not necessarily portrayed as ravenous canines, nor are they "converted" at any point to righteousness. Like the mythical Greek dog Cerberus, the guardian of Hell, they act solely as guardians of the place of burnt-offerings. Given the abhorrence of dogs in Judaism, coupled with their consistently negative portrayal

³⁴ *According to the Hebrews*. London, 1937, p. 32.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 214-219.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, Chapter 2, sections 1-7, pp. 39-40. The editor notes that in one version of the *Toldoth Jeshu*, lions are in the place of the dogs, p. 39 note 5.

in the Old Testament, the association of Jesus (Simon Magus) with these dogs was hardly intended to flatter.

There is also a dark side to the image of the dog in the writings of the Church Fathers and congruent with that in the *Passio*. Frequently biblical exegetes used dogs to symbolize the enemies of the Church. In *Liber Formularum spiritalis intelligentiae* John Cassian used dogs metaphorically to denigrate the devil, Jews, reprobates, tepid believers, and unbelieving Gentiles. Tertullian in *Adversus Marcionem* cited Revelation 22:15, which states that outside of the New Jerusalem are the “dogs who practice magic arts, the sexually immoral, the murderers, the idolaters, and everyone who loves and practices falsehood.”³⁷ Augustine turned to Matthew 7:6 in which Jesus told his followers not to give to dogs [hardened unbelievers] what is sacred [the gospel]. The dogs in this passage, according to Augustine, are people guilty of turning away from God and of embracing idolatry, and he voiced similar sentiments in his *Faith and Works*.³⁸ In the *Enarrationes in Psalmos* the negative association of Jews as a type of faithless dogs did not escape the notice of the bishop of Hippo.³⁹ As evidenced by his typological use of the hostile dog, Cassiodorus repeatedly portrayed the Jews as enemies of the Church. To his commentary on Psalm 21:17, “For many dogs have encompassed me,” he added, “So the Jews are most justly compared with them,” and he expressed more anti-Semitic comments elsewhere. The dogs in the *Passio* do not experience any transformation of character or conversion and as such are symbolic of the hopeless reprobate.⁴⁰

³⁷ “Canis, diabolus, vel Judaeus, vel gentilis . . . Hic leonem diabolum, canem vero gentilem, vel hominem peccatorem accipiendum putant: quod ille ad fidem vel poenitentiam possit venire, ille autem non veniat,” Cap. 5, *MPL* 50:733. Tertullian, “Jam hinc ad quaestiones omnes. Canes, quos foras Apostolus expellit (Apoc. XXII, 15), latrantes in Deum veritatis,” 2.5. *MPL* 2:289. The text in Revelation 22:15 reads, “Outside are the dogs, those who practice magic arts, the sexually immoral, the murderers, the idolaters, and everyone who loves and practices falsehood.”

³⁸ “Canis es, una es ex Gentibus, idola adoras,” *Sermo* 77.6.10. *MPL* 38:487. Sancti Avrelii Augustini, *De fide et operibus*, 3.4., 4.6, 5.7, 6.6, and 16.30. *CSEL*, 41. (Sect. V, pars III). Vindobonae, 1900, pp. 38–44 and 73–74. See also Paulinus of Nola, who called nominal Christian Gentiles “hounds of God,” and whose fate is with the unbelievers because of their empty tepid faith, in *Epistola* 50.1.8. *MPL* 61:411 and Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones*. *CCL*, 103, pars I. *Sermo* 93.1, pp. 382–383.

³⁹ “Canes Gentes Judaei dixerunt, tanquam immundos Nam inde et ipse Dominus, cum post eum clamaret Chananaca quaedam mulier . . .,” 58.15. *MPL* 36:702.

⁴⁰ *Expositio Psalmorum*, *CCL*, 97, pars II, I. *Psalm* 21.17 and *Psalm* 58.7 and 15, pp. 198–200, 523 and 527.

Embracing doctrinal heresy and lapsing morally were sins metaphorically identified by the Church Fathers with evil dogs. Augustine called tepid members of the Church weak in the faith—dogs to be tolerated for the sake of the peace of the Church, a rather creative adaptation of the parable of the Wheat and the Tares (Mt. 13:29).⁴¹ Cassiodorus said that Psalm 21:21, referred to a deliverance of the soul from the sword—from the hand of the dog—to which he added bluntly, "He [the psalmist] compares heretics to dogs."⁴² Paraphrasing Proverbs 26:11, Augustine compared morally lapsed Christians to dogs that have returned to eat their own vomit,⁴³ and Caesarius similarly admonished his flock not to lapse into their former sin and vice as a dog returns to its own vomit.⁴⁴ The bishop of Arles compared lukewarm, careless, and fearless [of God] brethren to dogs bound in chains [to sin], easy prey for the Devil.⁴⁵ The perilous state of the weakened soul from the wiles of worldly pleasure and the Devil are likened respectively by Caesarius to "the dog's power" and "the lion's mouth," and these inconstant persons he sternly called "defiled pigs and dogs" not worthy to be accepted into the Church.⁴⁶ In a final passage, Caesarius, turned to Proverbs 26:11 to chastise clerics, monks, and virgins for having become proud, disobedient, and lukewarm. These are religious guilty of abandoning abstinence for gluttony, vigils for sleeping, humility for pride, obedience for disobedience, and patience for wrath. In them is fulfilled, the bishop declared, the proverb, "The dog returns to its vomit."⁴⁷

In the *Acts of Peter* the entire episode with Simon Magus and Marcellus is one of rescuing not just a single lapsed believer, but an entire throng that had abandoned the true faith and come under the spell of the magician. The *Acts of Peter* identifies the brethren at Rome as those who are now spiritually "scattered" and Peter's opening

⁴¹ "Nos uero ad sanam doctrinam pertinere arbitramur ex utrisque testimoniis uitam sententiamque moderari, ut et canes in ecclesia propter pacem ecclesiae toleremus et canibus sanctum, ubi est pax ecclesiae tuta, non demus," *De fide et operibus*, 5.10–13.7. *CSEL*, 41 (Sect. V, pars III), p. 49.

⁴² *Expositio in Psalmorum*, *CCSL*, 97, pars II, 1. *Psalm* 21.503–504.21, p. 202.

⁴³ *De fide et operibus*, 25.18–20.47. *CSEL*, 41 (Sect. V, pars III), p. 92.

⁴⁴ *Sermones*, *CCSL*, 103, pars I. *Sermo* 81.2 and *Sermo* 97.5 and *Sermo* 135.6, pp. 334–335, 399–400, and 558–559.

⁴⁵ *Sermones*, *CCSL*, 103, pars I. *Sermo* 121.6, p. 507.

⁴⁶ *Sermones*, *CCSL*, 103, pars I. *Sermo* 136.7, pp. 563–564 and *Sermones*, *CCSL*, 104, pars I, 2. *Sermo* 229.3, pp. 907–908.

⁴⁷ *Sermones*, *CCSL*, 104, pars I, 2. *Sermo* 237.3, pp. 946–947.

statement in his sermon to the crowd clearly identifies them as former believers. Peter even refers to his own triple denial of Christ (7.2–3, p. 54), as reported in all four Gospels, to illustrate that there is opportunity for repentance and hope for re-entry into the Church; his own tearful repentance through God's grace is powerful testimony of redemption. Likewise, when Peter approached Marcellus's house, the crowd gave witness concerning the Senator's virtuous life and his subsequent fall into the deceptive spells of Simon Magus, which explains why they pleaded with Peter to show the Senator mercy (8.31–34 and 1–5, pp. 54–56). Although the *Acts of Peter* never quotes Proverbs 26:11, nor even alludes to it, the example of believers lapsing into heretical error is firmly embedded in the story. The account, however, does end with the victorious redemption of both Marcellus and the brethren at Rome, thanks to the intervention of Peter and his faithful, loquacious dog. Even in their harshest polemics against heresy and moral depravity, the Church Fathers always left open the gate for lapsed believers to return to the fold through repentance and God's grace. Like the Judas figure, however, Simon Magus is never given the possibility of redemption in the *Acts of Peter*; like Satan, he is a being whose will is hopelessly turned against God.

The dog scene at the house of Marcellus did not escape the notice of artists in the Early Christian period. Aside from the artistic interest of these rare pieces, the most striking feature is that all of them are found on sarcophagi. Two are from Verona and Mantua and are dated by scholars between the years A.D. 390–400.⁴⁸ (Figs. 1 and 2.) A third sarcophagus, at one time deposited at Nîmes, France, but very likely from the Transalpine, is now missing and is known only from a drawing. (Fig. 3.) The object may be more the victim of being misplaced than actually being lost, and it would be worth the time and effort to try to locate it anew.⁴⁹ The fourth piece is

⁴⁸ One of the earliest and productive studies of these two sarcophagi is in Stuhlfauth, *Apokryphen Petrusgeschichten*, pp. 3–9, and he offers only a photograph of the Mantua piece, at 4. G. Wilpert published two splendid photographs of the Verona and Mantua sarcophagi, but with little commentary, in *I Sarcophagi Cristiani Antichi*. Testo, vol. 2. Roma, 1932, pp. 348–351. For the Mantua sarcophagus, plate 30, p. 39, and the Verona piece, plate 150.2, p. 177. Neither piece escaped the attention of G. Turcio, "San Pietro e i Cani," p. 299. See also the succinct discussion by, M. Sotomayor, *S. Pedro en la Iconografía Paleocristiana*. Biblioteca Teológica Granadina, 5. Granada, 1962, pp. 30–31 and 161–162. See note 50 below.

⁴⁹ E. Le Blant was the first scholar to widely publicize the lost sarcophagus from



Fig. 3

deposited at the National Museum in Krakow and according to its discoverer Professor Janusz A. Ostrowski, it also likely originated in Gaul and dates between 390–400.⁵⁰ (Fig. 4.) We should not rule the possibility that there may be other artistic representations of this and other apocryphal themes since no one has ever carried out a full inventory of this material.⁵¹

In content the Verona, Krakow, and lost Nîmes sarcophagi are strikingly similar one to another: all three have Peter on the left and the dog on the right of the relief. The dog is wearing a visible collar around its neck, presumably where the heavy chain had been attached, according to the *Acts of Peter*, (*catena grande ligatum* 9.1, p. 57), although a chain is not visible. They all depict the scene in front of Marcellus's home as evidenced by the arcade and columns in the Verona and Krakow pieces, but in the drawing of the lost Nîmes object the column is there without the arcade. One wonders if the drawing of the Nîmes relief has fully captured the entire scene contained in the original. The Mantua sarcophagus has all of the elements found in the other sarcophagi with some basic differences, however: here the dog is on the left, Peter, on the right. Like its companions, the dog, has a prominent muzzle but no chain, and as in the others the entrance has an arcade without any columns or building blocks. All four depict the dog with his fore-paw in the air,

Nîmes, in *Les sarcophages chrétiens de la Gaule*. Paris, 1886, p. 114, no. 136. For further notices and commentary see, Stuhlfauth, *Apokryphen Petrusgeschichten*, pp. 5–6, with a reproduction of the LeBlant drawing, p. 5. Wilpert took notice of the Nîmes piece, *I Sarcophagi*, 2:350. See also, Turcio, "San Pietro e i Cani," p. 299 and Sotomayor, *S. Pedro en la Iconografía*, pp. 31 and 161.

⁵⁰ The article contains photographs of the Verona and Nîmes sarcophagi, "Apocryphal and Canonical Scenes. Some remarks on the Iconography of the Sarcophagus from the Collection of the National Museum in Krakow," *Etudes et Travaux* 13 (*Travaux du Centre d'Archéologie méditerranéenne de l'académie polonaise des sciences*, 26) (1978), 305–309. A photograph of the Krakow sarcophagus is at, p. 308. I wish to thank the Director of the *Polish Academy of Sciences*, (Warsaw) Dr. Karol Mysliwiec, for sending me a copy of this article. Also relevant, J. A. Ostrowski, "Unknown fragments of Early Christian Sarcophagi," *Meander* 28 (1973), 326–331.

⁵¹ In my own search of the *Princeton Index of Christian Art*, which I consulted as a summer fellow at UCLA in 1992, and through other sources I have identified at least 60 artistic representations of apocryphal scenes of Simon Magus. The Princeton collection which depends on the contributions of researchers is not as yet to be considered exhaustive, although ultimately that is the goal. Prof. Agustín Hevia Ballina, director of the Diocesan Archives of Oviedo, Spain, informed me about the uncatalogued Simon Magus relief in the cathedral which I researched in the summer of 1995. Results are forthcoming in *Hagiographica*.

which I believe demonstrates his submission and friendly disposition towards Peter or the "conversion" of the dog that I described earlier. Although the dog still has a growling face in all the reliefs, let us recall that ancient and medieval reliefs usually collapse into one scene a sequence of events, in this case: the initial hostility of the dog, the blessing of Peter, and the conversion of the animal to God's service.

There is still the question as to the identification of the person standing with Peter in the Mantua, Nîmes, and Krakow sarcophagi, yet absent in the Verona sarcophagus. In the *Acts of Peter*, when Peter approached the house of Marcellus, a great crowd followed him, and he alone walked up to the doorway where he was met by a doorkeeper who engaged him in conversation, (Petrus de synagoga ibat in domum Marcelli ubi Simon manebat. sequebantur autem eum turbae magnae. ut autem uenit ad ianuam, uocans hostarium dixit ad eum 9.23–25, p. 56). It is certain that the figure with Peter in these sarcophagi is none other than the doorkeeper. Professor Ostrowski has maintained that the man with Peter in the Krakow sarcophagus is a young male, and this fine detail is noted in the *Acts of Peter*.⁵² In fact, Peter addresses the doorkeeper as a "young man", (Petrus autem ad iuuenem dixit 9.31, p. 56). The doorkeeper is not portrayed at all in the Verona sarcophagus, and this omission does not in any significant way alter the story in that relief. The one episode that is absent in all of the iconography of the Early Church is the feeding of bread to the dogs by Peter in the *Passio*.

3. *Dogs in the Middle Ages*

As a result, when the Dominicans were given the nickname *Domini canes* in the Middle Ages, it was part of a well-established metaphorical tradition. Furthermore, the image of dogs continued to be used in earnest by numerous medieval writers as "types" of both good and evil. In this section I will explore select medieval sources that exemplify two major ways in which dogs were invoked in medieval polemics: (1) the dog in Christian anti-Jewish/Muslim and Heretical literature; and (2) the dog both as symbolic of moral sin and as

⁵² "Apocryphal and Canonical Scenes," p. 306.

preacher of God's word. The *Acts of Peter* and the *Passio* enjoyed extensive diffusion among medieval writers, and these apocryphal texts have a central place in the medieval, metaphorical uses of dog.

Christianity had already established a long, precarious, and inconsistent relationship with Jews when in the seventh century Islam emerged to further challenge the religious hegemony of the Church. The polemical weapons that Christianity had aimed against Judaism were now put into action to combat Islam. In view of the overwhelming negative view of dogs in Judaism and Islam, it is hardly surprising that Christians utilized them metaphorically to belittle both faiths.

Two major ninth-century western anti-Islamic texts will suffice to illustrate how "dogs" were effectively used by Christians to insult Islam in general, and Muhammad specifically: the *Song of Roland* and the Spanish text *Istoria de Mahomet*, of Andalusian origin, that eventually found its way north into the province of Navarra.⁵³ A third document, the *Liber Apologeticus martyrum* by Eulogius of Córdoba borrowed verbatim from the *Istoria de Mahomet* and deserves at least passing mention because of its popularity among the Mozarabs.⁵⁴

In section 29 of the *Song of Roland*, which describes Marsile at Saragossa, we read at lines 2590-91:

Throw the idol of Muhammad into a ditch,
And pigs and dogs bite and trample it.
(E Mahumet enz en un fosset butent
E porc e chen le mordent e defulent).

The equal revulsion of pigs in Islam explains their presence along with the dogs in this passage. G. J. Brault has identified the similarity between Muhammad's fate here and that of Ahab and Jezebel

⁵³ The Oxford text with English translation that I am using for this article is in, *The Song of Roland: An analytical edition*. 2 vols. (ed.) G. J. Brault. Pennsylvania State University, 1978. The text of the *Istoria de Mahomet* is translated with brief commentary in K. B. Wolf "The earliest Latin lives of Muhammad," in *Conversion and Continuity. Indigenous Christian communities in Islamic Lands. Eighth to Eighteenth centuries*, (ed.) M. Gervers and R. J. Bikhazi. Papers in Mediaeval Studies, 9. Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1990, pp. 89-101.

⁵⁴ The authoritative edition is in, *Corpus Scriptorum Mozarabicorum*, vol. 2 (ed.) I. Gil. Madrid, 1973, pp. 483-486, the dogs at, "Statimque uice angelica ad eius foetorem canes ingressi latus eius deuorauerunt," 16.53-54, p. 485 and, "et ob eius uindicandam iniuriam annis singulis canes occidere decreuerunt . . . Digne ei quidem accidit ut canem uentrem tantus ac talis propheta repleret," 16.55-58, p. 486:

in the Old Testament.⁵⁵ In Scripture dogs eat their own vomit or are fed leftovers from the meal table; there are perhaps even further biblical allusions that may be read into this passage.⁵⁶ The fact that Muhammad's body is in a ditch decaying is a Christian denial of the belief by Muslims that the Prophet ascended into heaven, as Christians believe about Christ. We witness here, in sort of a twisted manner, the use of dogs in the service of the Church, as they bite and trample upon Muhammad's body.

Section 30, entitled "Baligant's Arrival" has yet another instructive reference to dogs at lines 3526–27, which describe:

The men of Occiant bray and whinny,
The men of Argoille yelp like dogs
[Cil d'Ociant i braient e henissent,
Arguille si cume chen i glatissent]

The yelping dog-like howling attributed to Emic Baligant's men are sounds associated with pagans and devils. Scholars have long noted that in Old French literature certain animal sounds were attributed metaphorically to pagans. In this reference the Muslim message is likened to the annoying sounds of whining dogs as opposed to faithful barking dogs and as such reveals openly the pagan nature of a false prophet. In the *Acta Nerei et Achillei* Simon Magus, too, is described as a howling wolf as he is chased out of Rome, "quamdiu illum cum ululatu quasi lupum extra muros civitatis ejicerent."⁵⁷

An equally relevant document, the *Istoria de Mahomet*, found in the eleventh-century Codex of Roda, yields more dogs that oppose Islam.⁵⁸ According to this text, as Muhammad contemplated his own imminent death, he predicted that on the third day after his death he would be resurrected from the dead by an angel [Gabriel]. His followers waited faithfully for the miracle to take place, but soon realized on the awaited third day that his body was beginning to rot.

⁵⁵ *Song of Roland*, section 166, 2:156–159. I Kings 21:23–24 reads, "And also concerning Jezebel the Lord says: 'Dogs will devour Jezebel by the wall of Jezreel.' Dogs will eat those belonging to Ahab who die in the city . . .," and there are cross-references at 22:38 and 2 Kings 9:36, *Ibid.*, 1:270.

⁵⁶ Proverbs 26:11, See Brault, *Song of Roland*, 1:425–426 note 23 on the meanings and nuances.

⁵⁷ Brault, *Song of Roland*, section 255, 2:214–215. On the symbolic meaning of howling see, 1:304, and 408 note 10, and *Acta Sanctorum*, chapt. 3.13, p. 10.

⁵⁸ Wolf, "The earliest Latin lives," text and translation at, pp. 96–99.

They reasoned that their presence had scared the angel Gabriel away, so they left the body alone to allow the heavenly messenger to effect the miracle. At that moment, however, wild dogs sniffed out the stench of the decaying body and began to eat it. The writer of the *Istoria de Mahomet* was quick to add how appropriate it was for these wild dogs to fill their bellies with the remains of this [false] prophet, who had sent his own soul and that of many others [his followers] to hell.⁵⁹ Once again, as in the *Song of Roland*, the thrust of this polemic was to discredit any Islamic claim of a resurrection of Muhammad, and wild dogs devouring his corpse dramatically undermine his claims to deity. Similarly, the dogs are again depicted in the service of God exposing the false prophet of Islam; they also served the double purpose of validating for the writer the Christian claim of Jesus's resurrection. The assault against Islam continued vigorously in the Middle Ages, and there are other precise adaptations of the Simon Magus legends in anti-Islamic polemics which will be dealt with in a separate study.⁶⁰ The dog in the *Acts of Peter* served precisely the same purpose, helping Simon Peter reveal the false claims of Simon Magus. Likewise, the wild dogs of Simon Magus in the *Passio* were unable to inflict any bodily harm upon Simon Peter. Peter's victory over the magician in that latter contest vindicated his apostolic authority, while Simon Magus is exposed as a fraud, as are all subsequent false prophets, including Muhammad.

The patristic condemnation of Jews—via the image of the dog—continued with unabated vigor in the Middle Ages. Raban Maur in *Allegoriae in universam sacram scripturam* dedicated a section to dogs wherein he explained the varieties of allegorical canines. Among these he cited Psalm 21[22]:16, "Dogs have surrounded me," which he likened Jews to a pack of wild dogs that are hostile to the Church.⁶¹

⁵⁹ "Digne ei quidem accidit ut canum uentrem tantus hac talis propheta repleret, qui non solum suam, sed et multorum animas inferi tradidisset," Ibid., p. 97 = Eulogius, *Liber Apologeticus Martyrum*, 16.57-59, in *Corpus Scriptorum Mozaraborum*, p. 486.

⁶⁰ The figures of Simon Magus and Nicolas of Antioch are both utilized in the Christian anti-Muslim propaganda of the High Middle Ages. I intend to explore in a separate study this fascinating medieval Islamic-Christian confrontation. For the patristic use of Simon and Nicolas see, Ferreiro, "Sexual Depravity," pp. 29-38 and "Jerome's polemic against Priscillian," pp. 309-332.

⁶¹ "Per canes, Iudaei, ut in psalmo: 'circumdederunt me canes,' id est, invaserunt me Iudaei," *MPL* 112:883.

Abbot Rupertus, a twelfth-century writer, employed the same psalm to describe the enemies of the Church in general, but in his work on the *Trinity* he metaphorically associates Jews with dogs.⁶² Garnerius of Paris in the *Gregorianum*, another twelfth-century work, succinctly identified the three chief enemies of the faith: heretics, Jews, and Gentiles. Of the Jews, he said they were dogs who persecute the Lord [and his Church] and he invoked Psalm 21[22]:17.⁶³ In the thirteenth-century *Ancrene Riwle*, Psalm 22:16–17 is once again used broadly to describe the hostility leveled at the Christian faith [by Jews, too] and to censure sin. The same psalm is found in the *Acts of Peter* in Peter's speech directed at the followers of Simon Magus in which the apostle affirms how the Lord rescued him from such wicked dogs, (erant enim qui me circumuenerant canes inprobi sicut prophetas domini 7.4–5, p. 54).⁶⁴

The early fifteenth-century Irish source known as the *Leabhar Breac* (c. 1411), which also recounts the passion of the apostles Peter and Paul, is the only source that I have found which uses the *Passio* specifically to link the Jews directly to Simon Magus. When the apostle began to convert many people away from Simon, "the leaders of the Jews (Íúdaide) and the priests of the Gentiles (pagans) . . . praised Simon Magus in the presence of Nero Caesar," and they also heaped blame upon Peter and Paul. As the confrontation between Simon Magus and the apostles escalated, the magician voiced his concern that so many people were turning away from his teachings. Simon laments with alarm, "This clique of men have turned away all the

⁶² "Respondit turbam et dixit: Daemonium habes; quis te quacrit interficere? 'Ecce isti sunt canes, de quibus hic opprobrium hominum et abjectio plebis propter nos factus, in psalmo dicit: Quoniam circumdederunt me canes multi (Psal. XXI). Frustra laborat hic intentio describentis.' Neque enim hunc latratum nequissimorum canum verbis posset ullo modo consequi," *In evangelium S. Ioannes Commentariorum Liber 7*. *MPL* 169:513 and, "Propheta dicit: Lingua canum tuorum ex inimicis ab ipso (Psal. LXVII) non, inquam, inueniebant copiam escarum apud inimicos Christi Iudaeos, ex quibus et ipsi secundum canem erant, paucos quippe ex illis manduicare, id est, convertere, et sibimet incorporare poterant," *De Trinitate* 7.8. *MPL* 167:453.

⁶³ "Canum nomine Iudaei Dominum persequentes designantur, sicut a Domino per Psalmistam dicitur, 'Circumdederunt me canes multi,' (Psal. XXI, 17)," 3.12. *MPL* 193:103. Concerning Gentiles he says, "Canum nomine gentiles designantur, sicut in Evangelio Dominus mulieri Chanauaeae dicit 'Non est bonum sumere panem, et mittere canibus (Matth. XV, 26),' " Ibid.

⁶⁴ *The Latin Text of the Ancrene Riwle*, (ed.) C. D'Evelyn. Early English Texts Society, 216 London, 1944, pp. 124–125.

Jews (Íúdaide) from believing in me." A comparison of the terminology of the *Passio* and the *Leabhar Breac* shows that the latter text substituted "Judea" (Iudaeam, 17.6, p. 135) for "Jews" (Íúdaide), thus introducing into the account a significant shift aimed at Jews specifically and away from a generic reference to the peoples of Judea.⁶⁵ The collaboration between the Jews and Simon Magus was firmly established as well as their persistent rejection of apostolic truth as preached by Simon Peter. Thus, the ensuing defeat of Simon Magus and his ravenous dogs by Peter in the *Passio* is also to be viewed as a victory against the unbelieving Jews.

Many other texts could be harnessed to illustrate the usefulness of the dog image to attack Jews in general and to perpetuate the perception that they were enemies of the Lord and of his Church. How the Church decided to be rid of such ravenous dogs (Jews) depended in the Middle Ages upon the winds of religious fervor, anti-Semitism, and politics. And, as in the case of Islam, the association of Jews (Judaism) with dogs was a serious affront to Jewish communities, a message that Christians had every intention of conveying. Like the anti-Muslim polemic, the use of Simon Magus by the *Leabhar Breac* was meant to attack directly Jews and censure their rejection of Christianity. The propaganda sometimes worked in both directions; for it was the Jews, as we saw earlier, who turned the tables on Christians and used Simon Magus in the *Toldoth Ieshu* to ridicule the claims of Christianity.

The watch-dogs of the Church, the Dominicans (*Domini canes*), were kept busy not only by Muslims and Jews; but heretics as well. We have noted in the above discussion how the linking of wild dogs with Islam served in part to reveal the heretical nature of that faith, and it delivered a similar message in regard to the Jews. The heretics, too, became the object of attack by the orthodox community. The ninth-century writer Paulinus of Aquileia, while rebutting the adoptionist heretic Felix of Urgel, declared heretics as not being worthy of even being in the same company with dogs, a clear allusion to Job 30:1.⁶⁶ An exemplary twelfth-century text depicting heretics as

⁶⁵ *The Passions and the Homilies from Leabhar Breac* (ed. and trans.) R. Atkinson. Todd Lecture Series, 2. Dublin, 1887. For the Irish text, pp. 86-95, and a translation pp. 329-339, at 333-334. For a brief discussion of this text see, M. McNamara, *The Apocrypha in the Irish Church*. Dublin, 1975, pp. 11-12.

⁶⁶ "Isti igitur famosissimi canes, qui ingressus Dei sunt visi, pastoris officium erga

dogs is once again Garnerius of Paris in the *Gregorianum*, in which he quoted Proverbs 26:11, accusing heretics of returning to their own vomit, "Canum nomine haeretici designatur, sicut scriptum est: 'Sicut canis revertitur ad vomitum suum, sic stultus ad stultitiam suam'."⁶⁷ Amatus of Montecassino, in his lengthy poem in praise of Simon Peter, included the major incidents with Simon Magus, and he invoked Proverbs 26:11 to describe the magician's lapse into heretical error [vomit], "Sed canis ad vomitum pollutus sorde reversus."⁶⁸

This same proverb was combined at times with additional biblical texts to address the ever-present disturbing moral lapses that continually plagued the Church. One such passage is the popular verse found in Luke 16:21 that describes the gentle dogs which licked the sores of the incapacitated beggar, Lazarus. The story from Luke became a catalyst to promote a more positive view of canines: the dog as preacher against moral sin and of God's benevolent grace. Along these lines, while Raban Maur preached that a shameless sinner is like a dog who returns to his own vomit, "Canis est peccator impudens, ut in Parabolis: 'Canis reversus ad vomitum suum,'" diligent preachers are to be compared to the good dogs who "heal" [lick] through preaching the sins of the people as the dogs healed the open sores (sin) of Lazarus, "Per canes, praedicatores boni, ut in Evangelio: 'Canes lingebant ulcera Lazari,' quod sancti praedicatores sanabant peccata gentilis populi."⁶⁹ These preachers are the antithesis of evil preachers who are silent like a dog that does not bark, "Per canes praedicatores mali, ut in propheta: 'Canes muti, non valentes latrare,' quod mali praedicatores vitia corripere nolunt."⁷⁰ Garnerius of Paris echoed a similar message in his *De canibus* entry, in which he reminded his readers that the tongues of God's preachers heal the disease of moral sin.⁷¹ For every positive usage

caulas ovium non immerito certum est procul dubio modo fungi mirabili: qui crudelium belluarum rabiem sanctis, si dici liceat, procul a mandrilibus gregum coecitae laetibus non pertimescunt," *Sancti Paulini Contra Felicem* 1.2. *MPL* 99:351. this is also a cross-reference to Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob* 20.9. Job 30:1 reads, "But now they mock me, men younger than I, whose fathers I would have disdained to put with my sheep dogs."

⁶⁷ 3.12. *MPL* 193:103.

⁶⁸ *Il Poema di Amato su S. Pietro Apostolo*, (ed.) A. Lentini. Miscellanea Cassinese, 30 31 Montecassino, 1958, 2.7.4, 1:84.

⁶⁹ *Allegoriae in Universam sacram Scripturam*, *MPL* 112:883.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, the second reference is a partial paraphrase of Isaiah 56:10.

⁷¹ "Canum nomine sancti praedicatores designantur, sicut in Evangelio scriptum

of dogs to extol those faithful to the Church, a negative image of dogs was not too far behind. In two twelfth-century Goliardic texts Simon Magus is presented as a dog barking falsehood:

Decanus canis est archidiaconi
Cuius sunt canones latratus dissoni
Canens de canone discors est Simoni⁷²

and in the second Goliard poem *Ecce Sonat in Aperto*, Simon appears as a frustrated howling dog that does not get its way [against Peter], a sure sign of the prideful reprobate:

Si non datur, Simon stridet
[Simon howls unless he wins].⁷³

In a twelfth-century *Book of Beasts* we find two contrasting images of the dog taken from Luke 16:21 and Proverbs 26:11. In the first, the commentator praised the righteous dog: "In licking a wound, the tongue of a dog heals the same. . . . In certain ways, Priests are like watchdogs. They always drive away the wiles of the trespassing Devil with admonishments. . . . The tongue of a dog cures a wound by licking it. This is because the wounds of sinners are cleansed," In contrast, "The fact that a dog returns to its vomit signifies that human beings, after a complete confession, often return incautiously to the crimes which they have perpetrated."⁷⁴ In *De silentio clericorum* Philip of Hawering brought together the Lazarus story with Proverbs 12:18, the latter reading, "but the tongue of the wise brings healing," to emphasize the spiritual medicinal outcomes of preaching; he also contrasted this positive image by rebuking the mute dogs—silent preachers—for failing to oppose sin.⁷⁵

est" 'Sed et canes veniebant et lingeabant ulcera ejus (Luc. XVI, 21). Quid enim per canes nisi praedicatores intelligimus? Canum etenim lingua vulnus dum lingit, curat.' Quia et doctores sancti dum in confessione peccati nostri nos instruunt, quasi vulnus mentis nostrae per linguam tangunt," 3.12. *MPL* 193:102.

⁷² O. Dobiache-Rojdestvensky, *Les Poésies des Goliards*. Paris, 1931, p. 107.

⁷³ G. F. Whicher, *The Goliard Poets. Mediaeval Latin Songs and Satires*. New Directions, 1949, pp. 150–151. Simon Magus is mentioned in another Goliard poem that condemns simony, pp. 132–133.

⁷⁴ T. H. White, *The Book of Beasts: being a translation from a Latin Bestiary of the Twelfth-Century*. New York, 1954, pp. 66–67.

⁷⁵ "Et supra: 'Lingua, inquit, sapientium sanitas est (Prov. XII).' Cum autem lingua sapientium sanitas sit, quis dubitet eam non debere silentio cohiberi, sed imperitis et infirmantibus adhiberi, ut vice canum lingentes ulcerum foeditatem, dolorem, mitigent, pellant morbum, revocent sanitatem? . . . In cujus typo rei putrescentem

The thirteen and fourteenth centuries witnessed a no less vigorous use of the dog to encourage virtue and to denounce vice. The dog Cerberus in Dante's *Inferno*, Canto 6, is symbolic of gluttony and more. When the poet speaks of, "three sparks from Hell—Avarice, Envy, Pride" (line 74), he refers to the three heads of Cerberus which bark forth the three vices. The thirteenth-century *Speculum Laicorum* deals with virtue and vice by comparing noble and ignoble dogs to noble and ignoble women.⁷⁶ Simon Magus, incidentally, in the *Acts of Peter* and the *Passio* is portrayed as embodying all three major vices and of even setting himself up as a "god."⁷⁷ A friar, Nicole Bozon in *Les contes moralisés* (c. 1320), creatively coupled the Devil with eight hounds, who obediently go out and do his evil bidding, one of which, *Havegyf*, is portrayed as perpetrating the sin of Simony.⁷⁸ In this passage Simon Magus is associated directly with a devilish dog through the vice named after him.⁷⁹ In its entry

Lazarum canes in Evangelio lingere perhibentur, quia sapientes quique minus sapientibus adhibentur, ut oris medicamine, et multifaria verbi cura tanquam ferro, oleo, potione, malagmate, ligaturam, et nocentia resecant, et adhibeant diligentius profutura" cap. 14. *MPL* 203:969.

⁷⁶ "Bays in his triple gullet and doglike growls," (line 14) in Sayers, *Comedy of Dante Alighieri*, p. 104 and line 74 at 106. Further comments on Cerberus are at, pp. 107–108. For exhaustive references see, P. Toynbee, *A Dictionary of Proper Names and Notable Matters in the Works of Dante*. Oxford, 1893, p. 147. "Canum duo sunt genera, quidam enim sunt nobiles, quidam ignobiles. Nobiles vero taciti sunt et simplices, ignobiles iracundi et latrantes. Ita est de mulieribus; nobilium filie sunt simplices et tacite et solitudinis amatrices, ignobiles vero tumultuose et per plateas discurrentes," *Le Speculum Laicorum*, (ed.) J. Th. Welter. Thesaurus exemplorum, 5 Paris, 1914, p. 33, other references to dogs in this work are at, pp. 39–41 and 96–97.

⁷⁷ "Roga ergo pro me tamquam bonus procurator dei, non me tradidi cum peccatis Simonis igni aeterno, qui me tantum suasit ut statuam illi ponerem, subscriptioni tali: 'Simoni iuveni deo.' si scirem," *Acts of Peter*, 10.22–25, p. 57. The reference to the inscription comes from Justin Martyr, *Apologia* 26.2. In the *Passio* we find a similar charge that Simon Magus claimed some status of deity, "Cumque perfecta fuisset epistola, Nero dixit: Dic mihi, Petre, ita per illum omnia gesta sunt? Petrus ait: Ita, non te fallo; sic enim est, bone imperator. hic Simon plenus mendacii et fallacii circumdatus, ut putet se qui homo est, etiam hoc esse quod deus est," 22.4–8, p. 139.

⁷⁸ *Les contes moralisés de Nicole Bozon frère mineur*, (ed.) L. T. Smith and P. Meyer. Paris, 1889, pp. 29–37.

⁷⁹ "Puis al venour descouplé un autre chien, qe est apellé Havegyf, ceo est a dire 'pernés et donez,' qel est descouplé sur les abbés, priours e chivalers e damcz qe ont esglises en lur donisoñ, qe pensent en donant de doner e prendre: de doner un esglise de lur doncisoñ e lur seignurage, e pur lur doun receyver ascun avañtage." *Ibid.*, p. 31. In the ensuing lines are partial quotes from the Acts of the Apostles 8:21–22 where Peter rebukes Simon Magus for attempting to buy the power of the Holy Spirit

on luxuria the *Speculum Christiani*, a fourteenth-century Middle English work, used the image of a dog. The writer cited Augustine's statement that a rotten dog is more tolerable than a sinful soul that is in mortal sin and at the very door of hell.⁸⁰ Charged with seducing a wealthy Senator such as Marcellus and milking him of enormous financial resources Simon Magus is damnable proof of *luxuria* in the *Acts of Peter*. This accusation of deceiving the wealthy for financial gain is reinforced at, (Marcellus furens paenitetur in benefaciendo, dicens: "Tanta substantia impendi tanto tempore, superuacuo credens in di notitiam me erogare!" 8.13-16, p. 55). Along these lines there is absolutely no doubt regarding Simon's impure intentions with the wealthy woman, Eubula. Peter explicitly refers to her wealth and Simon's theft by way of his "spells" on the woman (17.1-27, p. 63).

Another well-known source is the fourteenth-century *Gesta Romanorum* (c. 1300), in which through the use of moral stories dogs appear in creative fashion.⁸¹ In Tale 142, "Of the snares of the Devil," the story talks about a traitor who used eight dogs—virtually the same ones found later in Nicole Bozon, as noted above—to spoil the forest of a benevolent king. In the application of this story, the writer explains, "The traitor is any evil Christian; the dogs and nets are vices."⁸² Simon Magus at one time walked with the apostles Peter and Philip, but then filled with pride, betrayed the faith and became its greatest enemy, as the tradition of the hopeless reprobate unfolded. In the *Passio* Simon Magus attempted to use his evil dogs to destroy the messenger of God, Simon Peter. Tale 12, "Of bad example," is a lengthier story which features a, "putrid dog with its mouth wide open, and its teeth black and decayed, through which the whole

⁸⁰ "A roten dogge stynkez more tollerable to men than a synful soule to god . . . Thci that be in dedly synne ben as at helle gate," (lines 7-8 and 11-12), p. 72. The Latin text reads, "Tollerabilius fetet canis putridus hominibus quam anima peccatrix deo . . . Qui in peccato mortali sunt, quasi ad portam inferni sunt," (lines 7-8 and 11), p. 73 in *Speculum Christiani: A Middle English religious treatise of the 14th century*, (ed.) G. Holmstedt. Early English Texts Society, 182. London, 1933. There is a second reference to dogs in the section on *Ira*, "Ther-for a man so wrethede es to be fiede, as a woode hounde or ellys as a cruel lyon broken louse," (lines 15-16), p. 62, for the Latin (lines 14-15), p. 63.

⁸¹ *Gesta Romanorum: or entertaining moral stories*, (trans. and ed.) C. Swan and W. Hooper. Reprint of 1876 edition. Dover, 1959, pp. 22-26; 137-139; and 248-249. For a continuing use of dogs as images of vices in the late Middle Ages, see *The Fantasy of Pieter Brueghel*, (ed.) A. J. Barnouw. New York, 1947, pp. 18-23.

⁸² *Gesta Romanorum*, p. 249.

fountain gushed in a surprising manner.”⁸³ “As this water, gushing through the mouth of a putrid dog, is neither polluted nor loses aught of its natural taste or colour,” continues the tale, “So is the celebration of Mass by a worthless minister.”⁸⁴ In the *explanatio* it is taught that the putrid dog is an evil preacher, and that dog is used because of four “excellent qualities” not found in other animals: a medicinal tongue, the Lazarus story; a distinguishing nose, to sniff out heresy and moral error; an unshaken love, the faithfulness of priests to the Church, and unremitting watchfulness, which protect from thieves (the Devil) by barking.⁸⁵ In the much shorter Tale 79, “Of presumption,” a certain king showed partiality for “little dogs that barked loudly,” (p. 137). In this tale the yelping little canines are identified in the moral “application” as zealous preachers and the king as Christ.⁸⁶

The late medieval Catalán preacher Vincent Ferrer (1350–1419) kept alive the positive image of dogs in Sermon 24, “Dominica prima post Trinitatem,” dedicated to Lazarus the wounded beggar. In the exegesis of Luke 16:21 he made the following observations: the dogs who licked his wounds are like those who preach the healing doctrine of God, (aquests cans són los preycadors, e menors, e agostins, e tots aquells qui preyquen bona doctrina, lines 13–15, p. 269).⁸⁷ Vincent quoted Job 30:1, as had Paulinus of Aquilea in the ninth-century, but he integrated the text into Luke 16:21 on the medicinal benefits of the dog’s tongue. According to Vincent Job’s dogs are preachers who possess spiritual healing powers through preaching, (Aquests cans són los preycadors. Mas més hi ha: que los cans han lengua medicinal, lines 31–32, p. 269). Through their tongues the preachers are able to bring healing to souls inflicted by mortal sin, (E axi han a fer los preycadors, car ab la lengua han a lepar les nafres del peccat mortal, lines 1–3, p. 270). In the remaining section, Vincent listed all of the major sins the Devil inflicts upon the people of God: superbia, avaricia, simonia, and more.⁸⁸ In all cases

⁸³ Ibid., p. 23.

⁸⁴ Ibid., pp. 23–24.

⁸⁵ Ibid., pp. 24–26.

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 138.

⁸⁷ Sant Vicent Ferrer. *Sermons*, 6 vols., (ed.) J. S. Sivera, et al. Els Nostres Classics, Col. Lecció B, volum 3. Barcelona, 1932, 1:269.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 1:270.

it is the tongue of the preacher which brings the opportunity for redemption and forgiveness, even as Christ forgave the very people who crucified him, (e quan tal persona ve a la preycació, e hou com nostre senyor Déus Jesuchrist perdonà a aquells quil crucificaren, lines 24–26, p. 270). In the *Acts of Peter*, which circulated widely in the Middle Ages via the *Golden Legend* of Jacobus of Voragine, both Peter and his dog incessantly preached the message of repentance and redemption to the followers of Simon Magus, further contributing to favorable images of the dog.

In an equally generous view of dogs, the late fourteenth-century mystic Walter Hilton, made a most creative application of a canine in his widely read *Ladder of Perfection*. He admonished in Book 1, chapter 41, "A hound that only runs after the hare because he sees other hounds run rests when he is tired or returns home. But if he runs because he sees the hare, he will not stop until he has caught it, tired though he may be. Our spiritual progress is very similar."⁸⁹ It is fitting to finish our select view of medieval sources on this uplifting note. Whether the Church employed dogs as types of evil or of good, in either case the goal was always to proclaim to the reader or listener that the grace of God is the avenue of escape from the entrapments of the world, the flesh, and the Devil.

4. *Dogs, Bread and Simon Magus in the Middle Ages*

We have seen already the prominent place of the dog eating its own vomit as drawn from Proverbs 16:21, but there is another image of feeding hungry dogs, as drawn from the *Passio*, deserving our attention.

The use of bread to placate the angry disposition of the dogs has remarkable similarities to some of the legends regarding the Greek mythological dog Cerberus, the many-headed guardian of Hades—three heads according to some sources and fifty or more in others. Hesiod in the *Theogony* described Cerberus as one, "who eats raw flesh."⁹⁰ In Virgil's *Aeneid*, however, we find Cerberus is fed with a sop or cakes made with honey and a drug to make the dog sleepy,

⁸⁹ Walter Hilton, *The Ladder of Perfection*, (trans.) Leo Sherley-Price. Penguin, 1957, pp. 46–47.

⁹⁰ Evelyn-White, *Hesiod*, pp. 100–103, at 101.

“melle soporatum et medicatis frugibus offam,” (6.420),⁹¹ a scene which Apuleius in *The Golden Ass* recalled in elaborate fashion:

In this manner the high tower prophetically spake unto Psyche, and advertised her what she should do: and immediately she took two half-pence, two sops, and all things necessary and went unto Taenarus to go towards Hell . . . and filled the ravenous mouth of the dog with a sop . . . she departed, and stopped the mouth of the dog with the other sop (Book 6).⁹²

Not resorting to sedatives or any such devices associated with magic, Peter in the *Passio* called upon God and blessed the bread to give it the power to vanquish the dogs.⁹³ Nonetheless, the story of Cerberus could have been a source of inspiration for this portion of the *Passio*. Rather than a single dog like Cerberus an unspecified number of dogs attacked Peter.⁹⁴ The only other reference external to the *Passio* in the patristic era that involves Peter, bread, and dogs is in the *Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles* (6.1), from the Nag Hammadi Codex, which reads, “The one who carries bread with him on the road, the black dogs kill because of the bread,” an unlikely source of inspiration for the *Passio*.⁹⁵ In Canto 6 of the *Inferno* Dante made the ever-hungry Cerberus the consummate glutton possessing an insatiable appetite for souls which, “He clutches and flays and rips and rends the souls,” (6.17). While Dante borrowed directly from Virgil regarding the feeding of Cerberus, he adapted the story for his own ends.

⁹¹ Williams, *Aeneid of Virgil*, p. 138 and notes on page 484.

⁹² Adlington, *Apuleius*, pp. 276–279.

⁹³ For a discussion of the associations with magic and Simon Magus, see E. Peters, *The Magician, the Witch, and the Law*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978, pp. 7–8. V. I. J. Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe*. Princeton, 1991, pp. 338–344.

⁹⁴ Hesiod in the *Theogony* says that Cerberus had fifty heads, Evelyn-White, *Hesiod*, p. 103. Apuleius does not specify the number of heads, in fact, he speaks only of one head to feed, Adlington, *Apuleius*, pp. 276–279. The rest of our Classical sources identify Cerberus as a three-headed beast, Simpson, *Gods and Heroes* (Apollodorus), p. 99. Miller, *Ovid*, 1:208–209 and 2:16–17 and 64–65. Williams, *Aeneid of Virgil*, p. 138 and 484. Bennett, *Horace*, pp. 162–163 and 216–219.

⁹⁵ For a translation and commentary see, H.-M. Schenke, “Die Taten des Petrus und der zwölf Apostel. Die erste Schrift aus Nag-Hammadi-Codex VI,” *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 98 (1973), 13–19. A translation into English is in, “The Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles (VI, I),” in *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, (ed.) J. M. Robinson. Harper, 1977, p. 267. For a recent study see, S. J. Patterson, “Sources, redaction, and Tendenza in the Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles (NH VI, 1),” *Vigiliae Christianae* 45 (1991), 1–17.

Instead of feeding drugged bread honey cakes to Cerberus, Dante's Virgil stuffs fistfuls of dirt into the mouths of the dog, which has the same sedative effect upon the beast.

At once my guide, spreading both hands wide out,
Scooped up whole fistfuls of the miry ground
And shot them swiftly into each craving throat.
And as a ravenous and barking hound
Falls dumb the moment he gets his teeth on food,
And worries and bolts with never a thought beyond.

(Lines 25-30, Sayers, p. 105)

Some scholars believe that the dirt is an allusion to Genesis, in which God creates humankind (Adam) from the soil; hence Cerberus is a devourer of human souls. But why Virgil would feed humans (dirt) to the dog is not at all clear, if indeed this is the intended meaning of this passage. Dante devoted another canto to Simon Magus to condemn simony, but there the *Passio* had no place for the great poet.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, the shared similarities between Virgil's Cerberus story and the *Passio* strongly suggests possible borrowing and adaptation by the writer of the *Passio* from the Cerberus tradition in general, and from Virgil specifically.

There is one late-medieval fifteenth-century Provençal mystery play, the *Istoria Petri et Pauli*, which creatively brought Simon Peter, Simon Magus, and Cerberus together in this lengthy work containing 6,135 lines.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Sayers, *Comedy of Dante Alighieri, Canto XIX*, pp. 188-193. For studies on *Canto VI* and the figure of Cerberus, see G. Padoan, "Il mito di Tesco e il cristianesimo di Stazio," *Lettere Italiane* 11 (1959), 432-457. A. Piromalli, "Il peccato di Gola e l'episodio di Ciaccio," *Ausonia* 20, 4-5 (1965), 50-57. L. R. Rossi, "The devouring passion. 'Inferno' VI," *Italica* 42 (1965), 21-34. G. Padoan, "Cerberus," *Enciclopedia Dantesca*. Roma, 1970, pp. 912-913. R. S. Dombroski, "The Grain of Hell: A note on retribution in 'Inferno' VI," *Dante Studies* 88 (1970), 103-108. C. Kleinhenz, "Infernal guardians revisited: 'Cerberus, il gran vermo' (*Inf.* VI, 22)," *Dante Studies* 93 (1975), 185-199.

⁹⁷ Cerberus makes four speeches in the *Istoria Petri et Pauli Mystère en langue Provençale du XV^e siècle publié d'après le manuscrit original*, (ed.) P. Guillaume. Geneva. Slatkine Reprints, 1977 at 311-318, p. 11; 3636-3641, p. 134; 5923-5926, p. 229 and 6082-6085, p. 234. For a discussion of Cerberus in medieval French sources see, M. Lazar, "Les Diables: Serviteurs et Bouffons. (Répertoire et jeu chez les comédiens de la troupe infernale)," *Tréaux* 1, 2 (1978), 51-69, at 60 and 62. Also for analysis of the *Istoria Petri et Pauli*, M. Lazar, "The Saint and the Devil: Christological and Diabological Typology in Fifteenth Century Provençal Drama," in *Essays in Early French Literature Presented to Barbara M. Craig*, (ed.) N. J. Lacy and J. C. Nash.

Although Cerberus has a minor role in the play, his appearance in this work is significant in terms of the tradition that mediated this monster from the patristic era to the end of the Middle Ages. While the Church Fathers virtually ignored Cerberus, the dog was somewhat more popular in the Middle Ages, and as we have noted Dante devoted an entire canto in the *Inferno* to the dog.⁹⁸ In the *Istoria Petri et Pauli* Cerberus is given the ability to speak, and at his first appearance he introduces himself as the guardian of Hell, (Et you, Cerberus, per compas Gardo la porto infernallo, lines 311–312, p. 11). A cohort of the Devil, the dog also carries out the commands and will of the Evil One. Cerberus is one of many demonic beings that welcomed Simon Magus to Hell after his earthly death (lines 3636–3641, p. 134)—the only instance in medieval literature that I am acquainted with in which the Dog of Hades and the Magician come together and the only source, apart from the *Acts of Peter*, in which a dog is given the ability to speak. The tenth-century Anglo-Saxon *Prose of Solomon and Saturn* also recalled the unique nature of a speaking dog, when it asks, “Tell me what man was the first [to be] talking with a dog. I tell you, Saint Peter.”⁹⁹

The bread incident in the *Passio* was remembered in the Middle Ages, and while medieval writers made only subtle alterations, they are nevertheless interesting.¹⁰⁰ In the *Passio* there is mention of the

South Carolina, 1982, pp. 81–92, at 84–88. For an inventory of references to Cerberus associated with the devil see, H. Wieck, *Die Teufel auf der mittellaterlichen Mysterienbühne Frankreichs*. Leipzig, 1887. Cerberus also appears without any reference to Simon Magus in a late medieval play, Arnoul Gréban, *Le Mystère de la Passion*, (ed.) O. Jodogne. Bruxelles, 1965, his speeches appear at, pp. 55–56, 100–101, 141–142, 202, 229, 295–296, 312, 328, 349, 351, 383–384, 442–443.

⁹⁸ For example, Arnobius, “Interea dum liber Stygem, Cerberum, Furias, atque alias res omnes curiosa inquisitione collustrat . . .,” *Adversus Gentes*, book 5, *MPL* 5:1142; Augustine, “de Cerbero, quod sit triceps inferorum canis,” *De civitate Dei*, 18.13. *MPL* 41:570. For a brief analysis of Cerberus in the Middle Ages, see J. J. Savage, “The Medieval Tradition of Cerberus,” *Traditio* 7 (1949–1951), 405–410.

⁹⁹ *Istoria Petri et Pauli*, pp. 11 and 134. See, J. E. Cross and T. D. Hill, *The Prose Solomon and Saturn and Adrian and Ritheus*. Edited from the British Library Manuscripts with commentary. McMaster Old English Studies and Texts, 1. Toronto, 1982, pp. 30, 99–100, and see the earlier study by, W. Wilmanns, “Ein Fragebüchlein aus dem neunten Jahrhundert,” *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 15 (1872), 166–180, at 176–177. I wish to thank Professor Robert Faerber (University of Geneva) for alerting me to this source.

¹⁰⁰ The accounts vary on the fate of the dogs after Peter’s rebuke with the bread. “Petrus uero extendens manus in orationem, ostendit canibus eum quem benedixerat panem; quem ut uiderunt canes subito nusquam conparuerunt,” (27.8–11,

types of miracles Simon Magus performed to lure followers that forms the necessary background leading up to the encounter before Nero.¹⁰¹ In the tenth-century *Blickling Homilies*, homily 15, "Spel Be Petrus & Paulus," these specific miracles from the *Passio* tale are recounted faithfully, but not without some embellishments. In the *Passio* the writer explained that so many people followed Simon Magus because the magician made brazen serpents move, stone statues laugh and move, and himself fly—all of which is repeated verbatim in the *Blickling Homily*. The *Leabhar Breac*, too, reports the same information, the only omission being the laughter of the moving statues. In his homily on Peter and Paul Aelfric does not mention stone dogs, much less barking ones.¹⁰² While these details are completely absent in Amatus of Montecassino, they are recalled by Orderic Vitalis in *Historia Ecclesiastica* 2.7, who presented a fascinating alteration to the story when he introduced stone dogs which bark at the behest of Simon's magical abilities, "et lapideos canes latrare, statuas aereas ridere et moveri," while the *Passio* reads, "et lapideas statuas et aereas ridere et mouere"¹⁰³—a significant addendum that found a permanent place in the popular *Golden Legend* (c. 1260) of Jacobus de Voragine, who added his own peculiar twist to the barking stone dogs. Jacobus, instead, has the dogs not barking, but singing, "et

p. 143). The *Blickling Homily* is in agreement with the *Passio* concerning the "vanishing" of the dogs, *The Blickling Homilies of the Tenth Century*, (ed.) R. Morris. Early English Texts Society, 58. London, 1880, pp. 180–181. Orderic Vitalis likewise does not deviate on this point, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2.7. MPL 188:132. Jacobus of Voragine used precise language that implies that the dogs fled and did not vanish into thin air, "ille vero panem benedictum obtulit et subito ipsos in fugam convertit," 89, p. 372 in *Jacobi a Voragine Legenda Aurea*. (ed.) Th. Graesse, reprint of 1890 edition. Osnabrück, 1969. See the translation in W. G. Ryan, *The Golden Legend. Readings on the Saints*. vol. 1. Princeton, 1992, p. 343. The fifteenth-century Provençal play, *Istoria Petri et Pauli* is in agreement with Jacobus, the text on which it very likely depended upon, "Hic Petrus porrigat dictis demonibus de pane benedicto, et hii canes, viso pane, vertantur in fugam, et dimitant Simonem," in *Istoria Petri et Pauli*, p. 94.

¹⁰¹ "Faciebat enim serpentem aereum mouere se, et lapideas statuas et aereas ridere et mouere, se ipsum autem currere et subito in aere uidere," 11.3–5, p. 131. On the false nature of these miracles as magic see, Peters, *The Magician*, pp. 7–8 and Flint, *Rise of Magic*, pp. 338–344.

¹⁰² *Blickling Homilies*, pp. 172–173 and in the *Passio*, 11.3–5, p. 131. *Leabhar Breac*, p. 333. B. Thorpe, *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church. Homilies of Aelfric*. Vol. 1. London, 1844, p. 377.

¹⁰³ Lentini, *Poema di Amato*, 1:132. Orderic Vitalis, *Historia*, MPL 188:132 and *Passio*, 11.4, p. 131.

canes cantare.”¹⁰⁴ The *Istoria Petri et Pauli* does not recall this fascinating change of the *Passio* by earlier medieval writers.

Another detail in the *Passio* involving textual changes in the Middle Ages refers to the moment when Peter received the bread secretly, blessed it, broke it, and quietly stuffed the fragments up his sleeves, (Petrus enim benedixerat panem quem acceperat ordeaceum et fregerat et dextera atque sinistra in manica collegerat 26.3–4, p. 143).

Aelfric, after noting the blessing of the bread by Peter, made the specific observation that the apostle, “brake, and wrapt it in his two sleeves”—the inference being that the bread was broken into two pieces. Once again the *Blickling Homily*, “Spel Be Petrus & Paulus,” strays from the original *Passio* text. Rather than referring to the right hand and left hand, the *Blickling Homily* instead says that Peter took the bread after blessing it, “brake it in two, and put it up his two sleeves.”¹⁰⁵ The redactor of the *Blickling Homily* chose to interpret the right hand and left hand as a reference to the equal partition into two parts of the bread. Aside from this departure the homily remained faithful to the original *Passio*. Aelfric and the *Leabhar Breac*, likewise, do not introduce any novelties on the hidden bread and its power to vanquish the dogs.¹⁰⁶ Amatus of Montecassino simply reported that Peter produced the bread that silenced and humbled the hostile dogs of Simon Magus, “Proicit his panem Petrus, statimque latrare Cessant; prostrati mites gradiuntur ut agni.” In yet another slight departure from the *Passio* the text portrays Simon Magus as insecure, “Augustus Caesar, omnis proclamat et aetas: ‘Est magus insanus, turpissimus, hic, sceleratus,’” and nothing is said specifically about the breaking of the bread.¹⁰⁷ The twelfth-century liturgical poem of Adam of St. Victor, *S. S. Petrus et Paulus*, only alludes to how Nero and Simon Magus were both humbled by Christ’s truth (through Peter), “Facta Christi mentione/, Simon Magus cum Nerone/ Conturbantur hoc sermone/, Nec cedunt Apostolis,” perhaps a vague

¹⁰⁴ Graesse, *Legenda Aurea*, 89.2, p. 370, and Ryan, *Golden Legend*, p. 341. For a treatment of Jacobus’s use of the word “apocrypha”, see R. Gounelle, “Sens et usage d’apocryphus dans la *Légende Dorée*,” *Apocrypha* 5 (1994), 189–210, at 205–206.

¹⁰⁵ *Homilies of Aelfric*, p. 377. “Petrus haefde þonne þone hláf geseɡnod þe he onfeng berenne, & hine tobraec on twa, & hine gedyde on his twa slefan,” *Blickling Homilies*, pp. 180–181.

¹⁰⁶ *Homilies of Aelfric*, p. 377 and *Leabhar Breac*, pp. 334–335.

¹⁰⁷ Lenini, *Poema di Amato*, 4.13.7–8. 1:132 and 4.13.9–10.

reference to the bread encounter.¹⁰⁸ A second twelfth-century liturgical hymn that celebrates the Feast day of Peter and Paul commemorates Peter's blessing of the bread and conquest of Simon Magus's dogs:

Panem dum sanctificatum
Contra gregum simulatum
Canum Petrus protulit¹⁰⁹

The last twelfth-century text is from Orderic Vitalis, who reverted to the original *Passio* and did not specify as to how many pieces the bread was broken, "Petrus panem accepit, benedixit, fregit et sub manica sua abscondit." The same holds true of the *Golden Legend* of Jacobus de Voragine and one of his principal sources, the mid-thirteenth-century *Epilogus in Gesta Sanctorum*, written by the Dominican Bartholomeo of Trent.¹¹⁰

Lastly, in the *Istoria Petri et Pauli*, the narrative appended two details to the story which are absent in our other sources: first, that Peter blessed the bread with the sign of the cross, "Petrus benedicat panem cum signo crucis et abscondat in manica,"; second, that *two* demons in the form of dogs appeared to attack the apostle, "Hic venient duo demones, in forma canum, ad devorandum Petrum."¹¹¹

5. Fate of Simon Magus in the Acts of Peter

The *Acta S.S. Nerei et Achillei* (*Acta S.S.*), believed to have been written somewhere between the fifth and sixth centuries, became one of the principal sources that medieval writers used to popularize the *Acts of Peter*. In their explanation of the fate of Simon Magus Aelfric,

¹⁰⁸ Wrangham, *Liturgical Poetry*, 61–64. 2:86–87.

¹⁰⁹ C. Blume, *Liturgische Prosen des Mittelalters*, 5. *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, 37. Leipzig, 1901, p. 244. A discussion of this and other relevant hymns is in, J. Szövérfy, *Psallat Chorus Caelestium. Religious Lyrics of the Middle Ages*. Medieval Classics, Texts and Studies, 15. Berlin-Classical Folia, 1983, pp. 298–299.

¹¹⁰ *Historia*, 2.7. MPL 188:132. Graesse, *Legenda Aurea*, 89.2, p. 372 and Ryan, *Golden Legend*, p. 343. *Epilogus in Gesta Sanctorum*, chapter 58, in *Bartholomeo da Trento, domenicano e agiografo medievale. Passionale de Sanctis, textus-index*, (ed.) D. Gobbi. Trento, 1990, p. 108. I am grateful to Professor Barbara Fleith (University of Geneva) for bringing this and other sources to my attention.

¹¹¹ *Istoria Petri et Pauli*, pp. 93–94.

Jacobus of Voragine, Orderic Vitalis, and the *Istoria Petri et Pauli* all reveal that they came under its sway. A near-contemporary source that influenced Jacobus is the *Abbreviato in Gestis et Miraculis Sanctorum*, a mid-thirteenth century work by the Dominican John of Mailly, that mediated the *Acta S.S.* material in the Middle Ages. Even though John of Mailly used the *Acta S.S.* in his work, his abbreviated version excludes entirely the lengthier incidents with the dog at Marcellus's house. Moreover, he specifically identified the *Acta S.S.* as his source, "vel sicut dicit macellus in passione nereï et achillei," when recalling the story about Simon Magus's expulsion from the city (Rome) by the mob, the children, and the dog.¹¹²

The *Acts of Peter* relate that Marcellus reprimanded, cursed, and drove Simon Magus out of the house with his own hands. Marcellus's slaves joined in on the eviction adding curses, hitting his face with their hands, beating him with sticks and stones, and pouring pots of "filth" (excrement and trash?) over his head (14.11–24, p. 61). Simon ran to the house of Narcissus, where Peter was staying, to denounce the apostle for bringing such hostilities upon him. Peter sent a woman with a child to meet the magician with instructions to the woman to keep silent and to allow the child to speak. By a miraculous touch the child took the voice of a man and harshly rebuked Simon Magus for spreading falsehood, even reminding him of being reprimanded by a dog, and at the end of the oracle cursed Simon Magus with dumbness. Simon instantly became mute, left Rome in disgrace until the Sabbath, and as an outcast lodged in a stable (15.30–36 and 1–19, pp. 61–62). Here ends this phase of the encounters between Simon Peter and Simon Magus.

Inspired by the *Acts of Peter* and the *Acta S.S.*, Aelfric excersized literary license in his version of the house of Marcellus story, and it

¹¹² For the *Acta S.S.* see, the Latin text, *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. 3, pp. 4–16, the dog account is at 9–10. The Greek text has been edited by Wirth, *Acta S.S. Nerei et Achillei* and Achelis, *Acta S.S. Nerei et Achillei*. The edition of John of Mailly is in, Jean de Mailly, *Abrégé des Gestes et Miracles des Saints*, (ed. & trans.) A. Dondaine. Bibliothèque d'histoire dominicaine, 1. Paris, 1947, pp. 225–226, the *Acta S.S.* is at, 199–201. The unedited manuscript of John of Mailly is Ms. B. III 14 Universitätsbibliothek Basel Folio 31r and 31v. See also the study by K. E. Geith, "Jacques de Voragine—auteur indépendant ou compilateur?," in *Le moyen Français*, 32. *Legenda aurea—la Légende dorée (XIII^e–XV^e s.)* Actes du Congrès international de Perpignan (séances "Nouvelles recherches sur la *Legenda aurea*"), ed. B. Dunn-Lardeau, pp. 17–31, especially at 18–23.

is an imaginative, exciting departure from these principal sources. As Aelfric tells it Simon Magus was assaulted by a crowd of people after having been reproached and confounded by Simon Peter. Escaping from the mob, Simon went to a house in which Peter was staying and tied a huge dog (mastiff) at the gate within the dwelling to devour the apostle.¹¹³ The *Acts of Peter* never claims that Simon Magus placed the dog in front of Marcellus's house and Peter is not initially a guest of Marcellus; he comes rather as an outsider in search of Simon Magus, who incidentally is a guest of Marcellus. Aelfric continues, Peter untied the dog, apparently having been pacified by the apostle, and he sent the dog inside to inform Simon Magus that, "he no longer with his magic deceives God's people." Having received the ability to speak, the dog not only delivered the message; it also put the magician "to flight." Peter, in the meantime, had apparently followed the dog and commanded it not to bite Simon Magus. Although it did "not hurt his body, [it] tore his garments piecemeal from his back, and, howling like a wolf, drove him along the walls, in sight of the people."¹¹⁴ Once Simon Magus escaped the attacking canine he fled naked in shame and stayed away from Rome. Clearly borrowing from the *Acta S.S.*, Aelfric has Simon Magus "howling like a wolf," (*quamdiu illum cum ululatu quasi lupum extra muros civitatis ejicerent*).

Jacobus of Voragine combined the material from the *Acts of Peter* with that of the *Acta S.S.*, at least the Latin version, and it is well known that Jacobus depended somewhat upon John of Mailly at certain junctures. While utilizing these sources, Jacobus in turn, introduced into his account the novel details of the *Acta S.S.* and (given the immense popularity of the thirteenth-century *Golden Legend*) they entered the broader mainstream of medieval thought.

Reproduced here are the texts of the *Acta S.S.* and the *Golden Legend*. While relying less so directly on the *Acta S.S.* but more so the thirteenth-century writer John of Mailly, Jacobus did not follow verbatim adoption of either text.

¹¹³ *Homilies of Aelfric*, pp. 373-374.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 375.

Acta Nerei et Achillei (*Acta Sanctorum*, pp. 9–10):

Cum ergo evasisset Simon, venit ad me, et putans me nescire, quod factum fuisset, canem immanem, quem vix catena ferrea vinctum tenebat, hunc ligavit in ingressu dicens: Videamus si Petrus, qui solet venire ad te, poterit ingredi. Sed post unam horam venit Petrus, et facto signo Crucis solvit cane, et dixit ei: Vade obloquere Simoni. Desine ministerio dæmonum decipere populum, pro quo Christus suum sanguinem fudit. Videns autem ego tanta mirabilia, cucurri ad Petrum: et genibus ejus provolutus, excepi illum in domum meam; Simonem vero expuli cum dedecore. Canis autem omnibus blandus effectus, solum Simonem persequabatur: quem cum misisset subtus se, cucurrit Petrus clamans et dicens: Præcipio tibi in nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi, ut non figas morsum in aliquam partem ejus corporis. Canis autem nullum ejus contingere potuit membrum, sed vestimenta ita morsibus attractavit, ut nulla pars ejus corporis tecta remaneret. Populus autem omnis, et præcipue pueri, simul cum cane post eum tamdiu cucurrerunt, quamdiu illum cum ululatu quasi lupum extra muros civitatis ejicerent.

Golden Legend (Graesse, *Legenda Aurea*, cap. 89, p. 373):

Tunc symon, ut ait sanctus Marcellus, ivit ad domum Marcelli discipuli ejus ligavitque maximum canem ad ostium ejus domus dicens: nunc videbo, si Petrus, qui ad te venire consuevit, ingredi poterit. Post paululum venit Petrus et facto signo crucis canem solvit, canis autem omnibus aliis blandus, solum Symonem persequabatur, qui apprehendens eum ad terram subter se dejecit et eum strangulare volebat; accurrens autem Petrus cani clamavit, ne ei noceret, et canis quidem corpus ejus non laesit, sed vestes adeo laceravit, ut ille nudus positus remaneret, populus autem et maxime pueri cum cane tamdiu post eum concurrerunt, donec illum quasi lupum de civitate fugarent.

John of Mailly (*Abbreviato in Gestis*, Fol. 31r):

Cum ergo evasisset Symon ivit ad domum Macelli qui erat discipulus eius et ligavit maximum canem ad hostium eius dicens: nunc videris.

Si Petrus qui solet venire ad te potest ingredi. Post paululum venit Petrus et facto signo crucis solum canem (solvit) Canis vero omnibus blandus solum Symonem persequabatur quod deiciens sub se cum vellet eum strangulare cucurrit Petrus ut non noceret ei canis qui corpus ejus lesit sed vestem ejus discissit ut nudus omnino remaneret, populus autem omnis et maxime pueri simul cum cane tam diu post eum cucurrunt donec illum quasi lupum per muros civitatis eicerent. Cuius opprobrii pudorem non ferens per annum nusquam comparuit. Et audiens Macellus tanta miracula deinceps Petro adhesit et Symonem cum dedecore expulsi.

In the *Golden Legend* Jacobus highlights the following details: Peter set the dog free from its chains by using the sign of the cross; the dog became gentle with all present, except Simon Magus whom the dog began to chase. The dog, then, knocked Simon to the ground and attacked him, and as the animal went for Simon's throat (et eum strangulare volebat), Peter intervened and called off the dog. Told by Peter not to injure the magician bodily, instead the dog tears Simon's clothes off and leaves him completely naked (ut ille nudus positus remaneret). The crowd that was watching, a group of children, and the dog itself chase after the naked Simon and run him out of the city, as one would chase a wolf.¹¹⁵

Jacobus embellished the *Acta S.S.* and relied on John of Mailly in several ways: Once Peter released the dog with the sign of the cross, which is in the *Acta S.S.*, the canine set about to seize Simon by the throat, and the apostle commanded the dog not to kill him. The dog's attempt to kill Simon Magus by crushing his throat with his jaws, recorded by Jacobus (et eum strangulare volebat), is not in the *Acta S.S.* text but it is in John of Mailly. Peter's invocation of the Lord Jesus Christ to command the dog not to bring bodily harm to Simon Magus in the *Acta S.S.* is absent in the *Golden Legend* (Praecipio tibi in nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi) and John of Mailly, but Jacobus does report from the *Acta S.S.* that the dog is given leave only to tear his clothes to shreds (*GL*, "sed vestes adeo laceravit", *Acta S.S.* "sed vestimenta ita morsibus attraxit", Mailly, "sed vestem eius discissit."). Jacobus further notes that after the attack, Simon Magus was completely naked (ut ille nudus positus remaneret), and he is chased out of the city in the buff by the crowd, the children, and the dog. The *Acta S.S.* mentions the nudity, too, but in a slightly restrained way (ut nulla pars ejus corporis tecta remaneret). On this matter it seems that Jacobus was indeed depending heavily on John of Mailly since their texts contain identical language. Three examples are sufficient to establish our point:

¹¹⁵ "Et canis quidem corpus ejus non laesit, sed vestes adeo laceravit, ut ille nudus positus remaneret, populus autem et maxime pueri cum cane tamdiu post eum concurrerunt, donec illum quasi lupum de civitate fugarent," 89.2, in Graesse, *Legenda Aurea*, p. 373. Ryan, *Golden Legend*, p. 344. For a study on Jacobus's sources see, W. Hug, "Quellengeschichtliche Studie zur Petrus- und Pauluslegende der Legenda aurea," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 49 (1929), 604-624. Jean de Mailly, *Abrégé des Gestes*, pp. 225-226.

1. On Simon's ejection from the city:

J. Mailly—illum quasi lupum per muros civitatis eicerunt.

A.S.S.—illum cum ululatu quasi lupum extra muros civitatis eijcerent.

Jacobus—illum quasi lupum de civitate fugarent.

2. On the near strangulation of Simon:

J. Mailly—eum strangulare cucurrit

A.S.S.—(not in the text)

Jacobus—et eum strangulare volebat

3. On the nudity of Simon Magus:

J. Mailly—ut nudus omnino remaneret

A.S.S.—ut nulla pars ejus corporis tecta remaneret

Jacobus—ut ille nudus positus remaneret

Jacobus's account is replete with several key biblical allusions. The dog's attack on Simon is reminiscent of Ahab and Jezebel in the Old Testament and the assault of Muhammad's body by dogs in the anti-Muslim polemic. Nakedness is invariably interpreted as symbolic of spiritual unveiling of shame and falsehood before God (2 Cor. 5:3). The chastisement of Simon Magus by the children refers to infants who have pure unadulterated faith (Psalm 8:2 and Mt. 21:16). Simon's eviction out of the city (Rome) seems to be an indirect reference to the expulsion of the unrighteous (sorceress, the sexually immoral, etc.), who are likened to dogs, from the New Jerusalem in Revelation 22:15. Likening Simon Magus to a wolf needs no further elaboration; we have touched on this motif earlier. Although these creative addenda are not found in the text of the *Acts of Peter*, Jacobus did not in any way violate the spirit and message of the original tale. In Orderic Vitalis and the *Istoria Petri et Pauli*, we find further influences from the *Acta S.S.*; very likely Jacobus is the source in the case of the latter text.

Orderic Vitalis emphasizes that the dog attack did not cause Simon Magus bodily harm and he also recalled the reference to nudity. He is sure to identify the mob, the dog, and children expelling Simon Magus from the city; the use of the sign of the cross to release the dog; and the identification of the magician as a wolf. However, he does not report, as Jacobus did later on, the dog's attempt to crush the throat of Simon Magus. Orderic's reliance on the *Acta S.S.* is much more pronounced than that of Jacobus and is confirmed by the near verbatim borrowings at key junctures of the narrative. I

have italicized a few examples that demonstrate the convergence of these two texts:

Evadens itaque Simon, ad Marcellum, quem jampridem seduxerat, venit; immanemque canem, quem vix ferrea catena vinctum tenebat, in ingressu ligavit. Videamus, inquit, si Petrus, qui solitus est venire ad te, poterit ingredi. Deinde post unam horam Petrus venit, *factoque crucis signo*, canem solvens ait: Vade et loquere Simoni: Desine ministerio daemonuni decipere populum, pro quo Christus fudit sanguinem suum. Marcellus autem, tanta mirabilia videns, ad Petrum cucurrit, et genibus ejus provolutus, in domo sua illum excepit, Simonem vero cum dedecore expulit. Canis autem blanus omnibus effectus est, solum vero Simonem persecutes est. Quem cum misisset subtus se, currente Petro et clamante: *Præcipio tibi, in nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi, ut non figas morsum in aliquam partem corporis ejus*, nullum quidem membrum ejus contingere potuit, *sed ita morsibus vestimenta ejus attraxavit ut nulla pars corporis ejus tecta remaneret*. Omnis autem populus, et præcipue pueri post eum simul cum cane currerunt, eumque *cum ululatu quasi lupum [extra] muros civitatis ejecerunt*.¹¹⁶

The *Istoria Petri et Pauli* likewise included the instructions of Peter to the dog not to bring bodily harm to Simon Magus:

A faulx chin, malvas et trist,
Te comandou, per Jesu Crist,
Que non auses tochar sa chart,
Ny lou blesar en luoc ny part.
El ha ben prou dal deshonor.

(2827–2831, p. 103)

The narrator indicated that Simon's clothes were shredded by the dog, and that he was expelled from the city, but there is no mention of the nudity, "Tunc canis laceret vestimenta Simonis et exeat eum extra civitatem." The sign of the cross is used to bless the bread in the *Passio* version of the *Istoria Petri et Pauli*; the *Acta S.S.* may be a possible source via the *Golden Legend* or even John of Mailly. The mystery play also added speeches from three children who mock and ridicule Simon Magus, "Pueri romani sequantur Simonem illudentes,"

¹¹⁶ "Sed ita morsibus vestimenta ejus attraxavit ut nulla pars corporis ejus tecta remaneret. Omnis autem populus, et præcipue pueri post eum simul cum cane currerunt, eumque cum ululatu quasi lupum [extra] muros civitatis ejecerunt," *Historia*, 2.7. MPL 188:130.

as he is chased out of the city.¹¹⁷ It is also evident that the three children were given some form of Trinitarian symbolism in this mystery play.

6. *Simon Magus and the Passio Dogs in Medieval Art*

The *Passio* dog scene is preserved only in medieval artistic examples. Although few in number, they are nevertheless illuminating. Three are Italian: one at the Cathedral at Sessa Aurunca (Fig. 5), a lost fresco from the church San Piero a Grado, and another in a Vatican Library Latin Passional manuscript.¹¹⁸ (Fig. 6) A fourth possible Italian relief is on the tomb of Pope Sixtus IV (1414–1484); even if authentic, it does not recreate very closely the scenes in either the *Passio* or the *Acts of Peter*.¹¹⁹ And there is one non-Italian example of a *Passio* scene in a fresco in the cloister church at Münstair, Switzerland.¹²⁰ (Fig. 7) These are the only known medieval artistic works commemorating the dog scenes that I have been able to locate. However, as in the case of Simon Magus iconography in general, there is always the possibility that other uncatalogued material awaits rediscovery and documentation.

There does exist some vagueness in the *Passio* on the number of dogs that Simon Magus magically set on Peter. The *Passio* text relates that there were several dogs conjured up by Simon Magus, but the

¹¹⁷ *Istoria Petri et Pauli*, p. 103.

¹¹⁸ An in-depth study on Sessa Aurunca is in, D. Glass, "The Archivolt Sculpture at Sessa Aurunca," *The Art Bulletin* 52, 2 (1970), 119–131, especially at 125–128 and for the dogs figure 16. Useful are also, C. Stornajolo, "I rilievi dell'arco sul portico della cattedrale di Sessa Aurunca," *Dissertazioni della Pontificia Accademia* 6, 2 (1896), 163–180 and A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte Italiana*, 3. *L'arte romanica*. Milano, 1904, pp. 570–571, figures 532, 534, 535. An extensive study of the church S. Piero a Grado is by, P. D'Achiardi, "Gli affreschi di S. Piero a Grado presso Pisa e quelli già esistenti nel portico della basilica vaticana," *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di scienze storiche* (Roma 1–9 Aprile 1903), vol. 7. *Atti della Sezione IV: Storia dell'arte*. Roma, 1905/Kraus Reprint, 1972, pp. 193–285, especially at 212 216 and 257 258. A microfiche copy of the *Latin Passional* is in the *Princeton Index of Christian Art* under the Simon Magus file, 32R76LV+82, 10A, Roma Lib. Bibl. Vaticana, lat. 8541, *Passional*.

¹¹⁹ A brief description is in Turcio, "San Pietro e i Cani," p. 299. The *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* was unable to verify this art piece as reported by Turcio.

¹²⁰ A thorough study of the fresco at Münstair is in, B. Brenk, *Die Romanische Wandmalerei in der Schweiz*. Basler Studien zur Kunstgeschichte, 5. Bern, 1963, pp. 44–49 and figure 21.

specific number is never specified, (*Et subito apparuerunt canes mirae magnitudinis et impetum fecerunt in Petrum* 27.6–7, p. 143). In the Sessa Aurunca relief, the fresco at Mùstair, and even the lost fresco from San Piero a Grado—for which we have a description before its destruction—there are *two* dogs shown attacking Peter.¹²¹ The *Latin Passional* is no exception and it also shows two dogs under the taming influence of Peter.

The most popular and widely used medieval literary texts do not concur with the artistic tradition on this specific point. The *Blickling Homily* leaves the number of dogs unspecified, “þa faeringa coman þaer hundas forþ on wundorlicre mycelnesse,” although it speaks of two pieces of bread and two sleeves. Orderic Vitalis likewise lacks the exact number of dogs, “Ecce canes mirae magnitudinis protinus apparuerunt.”¹²² Even the immensely popular *Golden Legend* neither bends on this point nor departs from the original *Passio* text, “Et subito canes maximi apparuerunt et in Petrum impetum fecerunt.”¹²³ The only text that specifies two dogs is the mystery play, *Istoria Petri et Pauli*, in which the narrator says, “Hic venient duo demones, in forma canum, ad devorandum Petrum.”¹²⁴ There is, I believe, an explanation that bridges the apparent gap between the textual and artistic tradition. Firstly, the Sessa Aurunca, Mùstair, San Piero a Grado, and *Latin Passional* representations seem to have depended directly on the original *Passio* text. If we look carefully at the Mùstair fresco, Peter is feeding the barley-loaf to the two dogs using both hands simultaneously, and at Sessa Aurunca the apostle is in a similar position. In the *Latin Passional* Peter appears to be holding bread in one hand and is offering it to the two dogs. The *Passio* specifies that after Peter received the bread from Nero, he blessed it, and broke it with his *right* and his *left* hand, and placed *both* pieces up his sleeves, (Petrus enim benedixerat panem quem acceperat ordeaceum et fregerat et dextera atque sinistra in manica collegerat 26.3–4, p. 143). The artists apparently have assumed that Peter broke the

¹²¹ D’Achiardi reproduced the Latin text that describes the scene in the now lost fresco at S. Piero a Grado, “Erant duae aliae historiae quarum unam jam fabricatores deiecerant, in qua erat Sanctus Petrus habens panem unum et offerens canibus duobus,” in “Gli affreschi di S. Piero a Grado,” p. 257, note 1. See also, Turcio, “San Pietro e i Cani,” p. 299.

¹²² *Blickling Homilies*, pp. 180–181 and Orderic Vitalis, *Historia*, 2.7. MPL 188:132

¹²³ Gracse, *Legenda Aurea*, 89.2, p. 372 and Ryan, *Golden Legend*, p. 343.

¹²⁴ *Istoria Petri et Pauli*, p. 94.

bread into *two* pieces to feed *two* dogs, which explains the exact numerical detail by the artists at Sessa Aurunca, Mùstair, San Piero a Grado, and the *Latin Passional*, and which apparently influenced the *Istoria Petri et Pauli* mystery play.

The fifteenth-century tomb of Pope Sixtus IV, carved by an anonymous artist in the Tuscan style, allegedly contains so Turcio, a relief in what is possibly the most freewheeling rendition of the Marcellus story in the *Acts of Peter*.¹²⁵ It focuses primarily on the upside-down crucifixion of Simon Peter. At the foot of the inverted cross there is a dog and two childlike looking figures in a vigil as it were. According to Geneseo Turcio, an earlier interpreter of this work, the dog and children both were part of the larger throng that chased Simon Magus out of the city of Rome, the seat of Simon Peter and his successors. It is implied by Turcio that both are symbolic of the watchfulness of the Church (*domini canes*), the childlike nature of the faith required of its members, and a testimony that even in his own death, Peter like Christ, ultimately triumphed over his arch-enemy Simon Magus and all who follow him in spirit.¹²⁶ Given the fact that the children and the dog are found at Peter's crucifixion, an episode that follows right after the death of Simon Magus, this interpretation of the relief is not unreasonable. For certain, the relief continues to identify Simon Peter with a faithful dog (*Acts of Peter*) as the hound keeps vigil at his crucifixion.

Conclusion

We have ample evidence, then, that dogs held an important place in the minds and lives of people in the Early Christian and medieval eras. They are either depicted metaphorically as ravenous fearful animals or,—like Odysseus's loyal dog, who died of excitement upon his master's long-delayed return—as the most faithful of all beasts. The *Acts of Peter* in its portrayal of the faithful dog and preacher of God's Word holds a significant place in the broader patristic and

¹²⁵ Turcio, "San Pietro e i Cani," p. 299.

¹²⁶ Perhaps this is an allusion to the words of Jesus as recorded in the Gospel of Mark "I tell you the truth, anyone who will not receive the kingdom of God like a little child will never enter it," 10:15, and also, "From the lips of children and infants you have ordained praise," Mt. 21:16.

medieval perpetuation of a positive image of canines and the influence of this apocryphal story ran deep and wide. The dogs in the *Passio* contributed to the metaphorical tradition of the Jew, Muslim, heretic, and unbeliever as a wild, hostile, and ravenous canine that is to be shunned and feared by the members of the Church. Perhaps the most significant message in the invocation of dogs embodied in these apocryphal stories of Simon Magus, whether positive or negative, that the patristic and medieval Church sought to convey is that there is strength in the struggle against evil, there is help in the fight against sin, and there is grace if one chooses to shun the Evil One.

CHAPTER TEN

SIMON MAGUS AND SIMON PETER IN MEDIEVAL IRISH AND ENGLISH LEGENDS*

A well-known fact about the Irish and Anglo-Saxon churches in the early Middle Ages is that from the fifth to the seventh centuries they came into greater contact with the Continental Church. Scholars have identified influences in art, monasticism, ecclesiology, theology, and liturgy from Spain, France, and Italy. Of the many consequences of these incremental contacts, one that is central to this research, is the introduction, proliferation, and adaptation of the apocryphal flight of Simon Magus in a wide variety of literary sources. Also, the presence of Simon Magus and Simon Peter in debates about monastic tonsures. I have also incorporated into this study the few artistic images that we have of Simon Magus in Irish crosses. A well developed historiography exists on these topics, including easily accessible standard editions of virtually all literary sources.¹ What this article offers is first: a comprehensive comparative synthesis of previous research on Simon Magus in medieval Irish and English modern studies, which is often difficult to find and scattered in isolated studies. Second, in spite of technical research, there is still a need to ascertain how the original apocryphal legends in the *Acta Petri* and *Passio Petri et Pauli* were adapted in Ireland and England.²

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¹ For commentary about collections and editions of Irish Apocrypha see, M. R. James, *Irish Apocrypha*, in *Journal of Theological Studies* 20 (1919), pp. 9-16, J. E. Seymour, *Notes on Apocrypha in Ireland*, in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 37/C (1927), pp. 107-117; J. F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland: Ecclesiastical*. New York, 1966; B. O. Cuiv, *Two items from Irish Apocryphal Tradition*, in *Celtica* 10 (1973), pp. 87-113; D. N. Dumville, *Biblical Apocrypha and the Early Irish; A preliminary investigation*, in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 73/C (1973), pp. 299-338 and with extensive citation of research materials, M. McNamara, *The Apocrypha in the Irish Church*, Dublin, 1975.

² *Actus Petri cum Simone* (= *Acta Petri*) and *Passio Sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli*

Flight of Simon Magus

The confrontations between Simon Magus and Simon Peter in the *Acta Petri* and Peter and Paul in the *Passio* were by far the most remembered accounts in early Christian and medieval sources, one principal reason being that the legend in the *Passio* became the primary basis for the commemoration of the apostles Peter and Paul celebrated on their feast day of 29 June. This development explains why these apocryphal legends about Peter and Paul were so well known in Ireland and England, as was true in greater Christendom. The major sources for this presence in the British Isles and Ireland are: Aelfric's *Passion* sermon, *Blickling Homilies*, *Leabhar Breac*, Muirchú's *Patrick*, an anonymous Irish poem and Irish crosses at Kells, Monasterboice, and Castledermot.³

(= *Passio*) (ed.) R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, Hildesheim, 1972, pp. 45–103 and 119–177.

³ Consult, R. Atkinson, (ed.), *The Passions and the Homilies from Leabhar Breac*, Royal Irish Academy, Todd Lectures Series, 2, Dublin, 1887, pp. 86–95 with translation at 329–339; R. Morris, (ed.), *The Blickling Homilies of the Tenth Century*, Early English Text Society, London, 1880, pp. 170–193; M. Förster, *Zu den Blickling Homilies*, in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen* 91 (1893), pp. 179–206, especially at 186–189; R. Mac G. Dawson, *Damaged pages in Blickling Homily XV*, in *Notes and Queries* 213 (1968), pp. 3–4 who makes use of Förster's suggestions to improve upon Morris's edition and J. V. Fleming, *The Old English Manuscripts in the Scheide Library*, in *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 37 (1976), pp. 126–138 for general remarks about apocrypha and the Blickling Homilies, B. Thorpe, (ed.), *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church, Homilies of Aelfric*, vol. 1, London, 1844, pp. 364–385.

From the abundant Muirchú's Patrick research material consult, R. P. E. Hogan, *Vita Sancti Patricii*, in *Analecta Bollandiana* 1 (1882), pp. 531–585, at 563; L. Bieler, *Studies on the text of Muirchú*, in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 52/C (1948–1950), pp. 179–220, at 192–194; Bieler, *The Life and Legend of St. Patrick: Problems of Modern Scholarship*, Dublin, 1949, pp. 108–125, at 115; Bieler, *Muirchú's Life of St. Patrick as a work of literature*, in *Medium Aevum* 43 (1974), pp. 219–233, at 231. For editions with translation, A. B. E. Hood, (ed.), *St. Patrick. His writings and Muirchú's Life*, London, 1978, pp. 61–93, at 89–90 and L. Bieler, (ed.), *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae*, 10, Dublin, 1979, pp. 89–91.

For the crosses see. A. Kingslev Porter, *The Crosses and Culture of Ireland*, Benjamin Blom, 1931, pp. 123, Figures 29, 244, 260, and 261; F. Henry, *La Sculpture Irlandaise*, vol. 2, planches, Paris, 1933, plate 2 of V-ills; R. A. S. Macalister, *Monasterboice Co. Louth*, Dundalk, 1946, pp. 45–53 on the West Cross, especially, pp. 48 and plate XV; F. Henry, *Irish Art during the Viking Invasions (800–1020 A.D.)*, New York, 1967, pp. 187–188 and 203 with illustrations of Monasterboice and Market Cross Kells, plates 86, 104. A comparison of Autun cathedral and Monreale (Sicily) with Monasterboice is at 186, Figure 35; H. M. Roe, *The High Crosses of Kells*, Meath Archaeological and Historical Society, 1975, pp. 39–40 and Figure 7 and plate XI, and Roe, *Monasterboice and its Monuments*, County Louth, 1981, pp. 48, 55 and plate XIV.

Aelfric's "Passion of the Apostles Peter and Paul" is divided into two main sections. The first is a succinct exposition of Peter's confession that, "Christ is the son of the living God," which Aelfric used to reaffirm the Primacy of Peter and that of his successors, the bishops of Rome. So he warned that, "whosoever deviates from the unity of the faith which Peter then professed to Christ, to him will be granted neither forgiveness of sins nor entrance into the kingdom of heaven".⁴

Aelfric then turned his attention to relate the lives and martyrdom of Peter and Paul, a series of events which he said transpired, "After the Lord's ascension".⁵ According to Aelfric, Peter preached for ten years before finally settling down at Rome to establish his episcopal seat which he occupied for twenty-five years. Aelfric highlighted that, "his adversary in all his course was a certain magician, who was called Simon".⁶ The ensuing narrative is a brief retelling of the apocryphal confrontations between Simon Magus and Simon Peter drawn principally from the *Passio Petri et Pauli* and *Acta Petri*. I focus my comparisons in the *Blickling Homily*, *Leabhar Breac*, and Muirchu's *Patrick* to their introductions and the episode concerning the Flight of Simon Magus, also rendered artistically in several Irish crosses.

The tenth century *Blickling* homily, *Spel Be Petrus and Paulus* contains a synopsis as background of what follows in the homily. It highlighted the preeminence of Peter as 'Shepherd' while also proclaiming Paul as 'instructor' of the Church. The homily drew a more precise distinction of status between both apostles: Peter was the 'first apostle' before Christ's Passion, and Paul the 'second' after the Ascension of Christ.⁷ The homily extolled their holy suffering, true humility, undoubting minds, and faithful proclamation of Christ to the very end of their earthly lives. Aelfric's introduction, on the other hand, focused entirely upon Peter, although in the main body of the homily Paul clearly was praised for having the same virtues. The *Blickling* text presented the inverted crucifixion of Peter and beheading of Paul as signs of their faithfulness to Christ.⁸ The introduction,

⁴ Thorpe, *Homilies of Aelfric*, p. 371.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Morris, *Blickling Homilies*, p. 170.

⁸ Ibid.

however, ended with both apostles meeting at Rome where Peter updated Paul about the, “machinations and reproaches Simon the sorcerer had continued. Then they gathered together their company against Simon the sorcerer”.⁹ The remainder of the homily moved on to recount the familiar confrontations inspired mainly by New Testament Apocrypha.

The *Leabhar Breac* established at the outset the major theme and focus of the *Passio*, namely their “martyrdom and persecution”, even more so than the texts we are exploring here. The writer quoted Jesus’s words, “Blessed are they who suffer persecution”, as a comfort to all believers who would imitate the martyrdom of both apostles.¹⁰ The homily followed this admonition with a brief list of Old and New Testament martyr figures who suffered persecution and martyrdom for Christ. It admonished:

In the first place, Adam’s son Abel, the first righteous man, suffered at the hands of Cain the accursed; Samson from the Philistines; John the Baptist from Herod; Stephen from the Jewish Synagogue; Jesus Christ Himself suffered cross and passion from the unbelieving Jews in Jerusalem.¹¹

The *Leabhar Breac* reminded its readers that Peter and Paul followed in the same footsteps when they suffered persecution and martyrdom. A brief summary of Peter’s life followed. The homily ended with, “After he had founded a church in Antioch, he went to Rome, to war with Simon Magus, in the second year of the reign of Claudius Caesar. He had been twenty five years in his bishopric, when at length he underwent crucifixion and death at the hands of Nero Caesar in Rome”.¹² Before beginning the lengthier narrative about Simon Magus the writer of *Leabhar Breac* included a short biography of Paul. Now let us move on to the episode involving Simon Magus’s aerial flight.

Aelfric commenced at that point when Simon Magus asked Nero to build a tower so that he could fly to heaven. Simon announced that angels under his command were incapable of dwelling on earth with sinners. His angels, moreover, would not only take him up away

⁹ Ibid., p. 172.

¹⁰ Atkinson, *Leabhar Breac*, p. 329.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 330.

¹² Ibid.

from such sin, he also promised Nero that they would take him up, too.¹³ The *Blickling* homily did not include this promise to Nero of an angelic ride to heaven.¹⁴ The *Leabhar Breac* agreed with Aelfric's version about the angel's inability to mingle with sinners on earth.¹⁵ In Aelfric the tower was built in a smooth field, in the *Blickling* no specific place was identified, and in *Leabhar Breac* it was erected in the Campus Martius. In all three, Nero ordered the people of Rome to come together to witness the duel between the apostles and Simon Magus.¹⁶

The relationship between Peter and Paul was not treated uniformly in the narratives. Aelfric had Paul deferring to Peter the privilege to challenge Simon Magus to bring him down, acknowledging that, "thou wast chosen of God before me".¹⁷ The *Blickling* and *Leabhar* both reaffirmed the Primacy of Peter over Paul. Paul, in addition, supported Peter's efforts against Simon Magus on his knees in prayer. The *Blickling* is the only text which mentioned Simon Magus wearing a crowned laurel on his head during his flight. Also, in *Blickling* Paul was described as having eyes filled with tears upon seeing Simon Magus fly.¹⁸ The death of Simon Magus was consistent for the most part in all the narratives. With the exception of Aelfric, the other texts placed the spot of Simon Magus's death at the *Sacra Via*. They harmoniously related that Simon Magus broke into four pieces upon hitting the ground. Aelfric recorded that his four pieces clave to four stones which were themselves a sign for all to see of the apostolic triumph.¹⁹ The *Blickling* exaggerated that four stupendous stones were placed there as a memorial to the apostle's victory. The *Leabhar* indicates "four stones were made of them", which was more consistent with Aelfric's version.²⁰ The four stones memorial is unique to the Irish sources, since neither the apocryphal texts nor Continental versions add this detail. I can not resist the temptation but to visualize these stones in a dolmen like construction of the Irish Celtic style.

¹³ Thorpe, *Homilies of Aelfric*, p. 381.

¹⁴ Morris, *Blickling Homilies*, p. 186.

¹⁵ Atkinson, *Leabhar Breac*, p. 336.

¹⁶ Thorpe, *Homilies of Aelfric*, p. 381; Morris, *Blickling Homilies*, p. 186; and Atkinson, *Leabhar Breac*, p. 336.

¹⁷ Thorpe, *Homilies of Aelfric*, p. 381.

¹⁸ Morris, *Blickling Homilies*, p. 188.

¹⁹ Thorpe, *Homilies of Aelfric*, p. 381.

²⁰ Atkinson, *Leabhar Breac*, p. 337.

Muirchú's *Life of St. Patrick* of all the Irish texts contains an ingenious creative adaptation of this apocryphal legend. Congruent with the *Passio* the dispute took place in the presence of King Loegaire, who although here was likened to Herod of old, actually mirrored the Nero of the *Passio*. King Loegaire summoned the Druid priests and people together, as Nero gathered the throngs, paralleling events at Rome.²¹ The assembled crowd was ordered by King Loegaire not to rise in respect of Patrick upon his arrival to the court. Muirchú's story established the close relationship of King Loegaire and the Druid Lochru, echoing that of Nero and Simon Magus, and their mutual opposition to Simon Peter, the figure Patrick obviously represented. One man named Eric, son of Daig, refused the order, Patrick blessed him and converted him to the Christian faith. At this point the Druid Lochru, representing the Simon Magus type, began to revile Patrick and insult the Catholic faith.²² Patrick alone opposed Lochru and in this regard the story resembled the *Acta Petri* where Simon Peter without Paul rebuked Simon Magus. In any case, Lochru undoubtedly was given the role of Simon Magus. Muirchú's text made this parallel explicitly clear:

Holy Patrick looked at him as he uttered such words and, as Peter had said concerning Simon, so with power and with a loud voice he confidently said to the Lord, 'O Lord, who are all-powerful and in whose power is everything, who hast sent me here, may this impious man, who blasphemeth thy name, now be cast out and quickly perish'.²³

Hereafter the flight of Simon Magus [Lochru] was retold in a manner unlike any text, Irish or Continental. Patrick's words directed at Lochru caused the Druid to be lifted up into the air and dropped where, "he hit his brain against a stone, and was smashed to pieces, and died in their presence, and the pagans stood in fear".²⁴ Lochru did not fly with the aid of demons which he commanded, nor did he seem to dazzle the crowd with his aerial acrobatics. The new Simon Peter figure (Patrick) was granted the power of God to lev-

²¹ Bieler, *Patrician Texts*, p. 89. An excellent treatment of this source is by A. O'Leary, *An Irish Apocryphal Apostle: Muirchú's portrayal of Saint Patrick*, in *Harvard Theological Review* 89 (1996), pp. 287–301, especially 293–297.

²² See O'Leary, *An Irish Apocryphal Apostle*, p. 296.

²³ *Ibid.*, O'Leary believes that the *Passio* is the main source, *An Irish Apocryphal Apostle*, p. 294.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

itate Lochru to release him to his death to demonstrate the superiority of God's power over that of the Druid Lochru.

There is lesser known medieval anonymous Irish poem, *An invocation of Saints Peter and Paul*, in Early Modern Irish found in three manuscripts dating from the seventeenth century which merits our attention.²⁵ The poem related the struggles of a Christian with the five senses which, "wage war against me". The poet implored Paul for help in this struggle, "May the apostle Paul, invoker of God, help me as a friend; let him who loves me instruct me so that I may be bold with the Creator". Furthermore, in preparation for the Day of Judgment the poet pleaded that, "Peter is needed there for the sake of my soul".²⁶

Simon Magus once again surfaced as one who did not heed to the apostles, remained in sorcery, abandoned the faith; thus his days on earth were cut short. Simon's defiance of God was manifest, according to the poet, with the announcement, "'Wide is my net; I am capable of rising up gradually until I go to the shoulder of God,' said the magician, sore the deed".²⁷ The magician fulfilled his promise to fly, which he managed for a brief moment, but for the love of the two apostles, "God's enemy was cast down".²⁸ The poet closed this episode with a distinct tone of incredulity, "if it is true".²⁹ In the entire poem Simon Magus emerged as a warning of what happened to those who did not bring the five senses under control through the intercessory prayers of Peter and Paul. Peter played the greater role at the Day of Judgment on behalf of believers. The admonition to submit to ecclesial authority, as represented by Peter and Paul, surely could not have escaped the reader.

In Ireland there are four crosses which have preserved the flying Simon Magus legend: Monasterboice (fig. 1), Castledermot, and the Market Cross and Cross of Saints Patrick and Columba at Kells. They are all identical in depicting Peter and Paul ramming Simon Magus with their croziers (fig. 2).³⁰ These crosses, however, do contain

²⁵ B. O. Cuív, *An invocation of Saints Peter and Paul*, in *Eigse* 13 (1972), p. 53.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ See note 2 above. The first image is the full cross at Monasterboice, reproduced from the sullivanm web-site, www.bluffton.edu. The line drawing of the Simon Magus scene in the cross at Monasterboice is reproduced from, F. Henry, *Irish Art during the Viking Invasions (800-1020 A.D.)*, Cornell, 1967, p. 187, figure 35, b.

distinctive characteristics which set them apart from the artistic renderings of this theme on the Continent. The Cross of Patrick and Columba depicts a demon on the left side releasing Simon Magus, the consequences of the prayers of Simon Peter and Paul.³¹ At Monasterboice and Market Cross at Kells, although weathered, seems certain to represent Simon Magus naked. If so, the nakedness of Simon Magus was a symbolic reference to his spiritual exposure as a false prophet and magician. Artistically, on the Continent Simon Magus was always shown fully clothed, and at times with the laurel wreath falling off (fig. 3).³² Some of the literary narratives do have him being stripped naked as he was chased out of Rome by his former disciples, but not during his fall from the sky. Another fascinating unique touch in the Irish crosses are the croziers both apostles are holding in their hands. In the two crosses at Kells we find only one of the figures holding a crozier which is being thrust into the face of Simon Magus. Helen M. Roe in her analysis of the cross was not willing to affirm for certain if the crozier bearing figure is Simon Peter.³³ Let us recall that the textual tradition undoubtedly reinforced the Primacy of Peter, particularly the *Passio* where both apostles appear.³⁴ We have already established how in Irish textual sources Peter was clearly demonstrated as the chosen vessel, due to his preeminent position in relation to Paul, to bring down the Magus. Even though Paul backed Peter in prayer he without question is in a subordinate role. Roe also doubted whether the Cross of Patrick and Columba was actually depicting Peter and Paul casting down Simon Magus, contrary to all other opinions.³⁵ The crosses at Monasterboice and Castledermot have the two apostles jamming their croziers into Simon Magus's head. Finally, at Market Cross Kells the apostles hold a codex between them, presumably Sacred Scripture, which they received from Christ and passed down in apostolic succession. The Castledermot cross, it has been noted, is so weathered that the

³¹ Kingsley Porter, *Crosses and Culture*, p. 123, Fig. 260.

³² Reproduced from H. Rode, *Die mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien des Kölner Domes*, *Corpus vitrearum medii aevi*, Deutschland Band, IV, 1, Köln-Berlin, 1979, plates 533 and 538.

³³ Roe, *High Crosses of Kells*, p. 39.

³⁴ *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, pp. 119–177.

³⁵ Roe, *High Crosses of Kells*, p. 25 disputes the interpretation by Kingsley Porter, *Crosses and Culture*, p. 123.

crozier of Simon Peter is hardly visible.³⁶ R. A. S. Macalister has challenged the interpretation that the cross at Monasterboice has anything to do with Peter and Simon Magus. Instead, he believed it was Michael the Archangel driving a crozier into the head of Satan and that behind the Archangel there is a second unidentified person with a crozier. Macalister's objection is, "the total and significant absence of St. Paul from the Simon Magus myth".³⁷ Macalister's observation could be sustainable if one were to limit the interpretation of the cross as inspired by the *Acta Petri* which apparently he did. There we recall Peter did indeed carry out his mission without Paul. The principal source for the literary texts and the artistic images of the Fall of Simon Magus was the *Passio* where both apostles publicly opposed Simon Magus.³⁸ The literary inspiration for the Monasterboice cross, as well as the others, was undoubtedly the *Passio*.³⁹

Mog Ruith

The legend of the Druid Mog Ruith regarding his being the executioner of John the Baptist is well known in Irish sources and to modern scholars. Likewise, the association of Mog Ruith with Simon Magus has been studied in detail, especially in the scholarship of Kate Müller-Lisowski.⁴⁰ In pursuit of the presence of Simon Magus's aerial flight in Irish sources in this present study I wish to focus upon the Mog Ruith tradition which highlights the disciple-master relationship between the two magicians. This latter aspect of the legend also has striking similarities with the manner in which Simon Magus was repeatedly represented as discipling nefarious individuals

³⁶ Roe, *Monasterboice*, p. 48 and Porter, *Crosses and Culture*, p. 123.

³⁷ Macalister, *Monasterboice Co. Louth*, p. 48.

³⁸ *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, pp. 119-177.

³⁹ Henry, *Irish Art*, p. 187; Roe, *High Crosses of Kells*, p. 39. Roe erroneously names the source as the *Gospel of Peter* which is a confusion with the *Passio*, an account sharing similarities, but containing substantial differences, Roe, *Monasterboice*, p. 48.

⁴⁰ K. Müller-Lisowski, *La légende de St. Jean dans la tradition Irlandaise et le Druide Mog Ruith*, in *Études Celtiques* 3 (1938), pp. 46-70. See also, A. M. Scarre, *The beheading of John the Baptist by Mog Ruith*, in *Erin* 4 (1910), pp. 173-181; D. MacKinnon, *The executioner of John the Baptist*, in *The Celtic Review* 8 (1912-1913), pp. 168-170; Müller-Lisowski, *Texte zur Mog Ruith Sage*, in *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* 14 (1923), pp. 145-163; Cuív, *Two Items From Irish Apocryphal Tradition*, pp. 102-104 and 108-109 and Dumville, *Biblical Apocrypha*, pp. 335-336.

who posthumously carry on his work against the Apostles and the Church.

The legend of Mog Ruith placed this Druid in the East rather than having Simon Magus traveling West to Continental Europe or Ireland. Mog Ruith in his travels to the Orient, here meaning the Middle East, sought out Simon Magus to train him in the magical arts.⁴¹ Mog Ruith was accompanied by his daughter Tlachtga and they together resided with and studied under Simon Magus for six years. Some sources had Mog Ruith in apprenticeship with Simon Magus for up to thirty-three years. Such was his devotion to Simon Magus that he allegedly wrote a now lost poem in his honor.⁴² Simon Magus was said to have had three sons—Dorb, Cuma, and Muach—presumably with Tlachtga, and were cared for by her after Mog Ruith and Simon Magus died.⁴³ Simon Magus was associated with a Helena in the anti-Gnostic writings of many of the Church Fathers. Simon and Helena, however, did not engender any offspring.

An even more intimate relationship between them was espoused in some sources. In one fragment he was said to be, son of Fergus, who descended from a long line of magicians beginning with one named Féne. Even so, the real teacher of magic to Mog Ruith was none other than the Druid (Magus) Simon. Mog Ruith went to an unspecified place to learn from Simon, together they created a rolling [flying] wheel, which he used to come to Europe for the Last Judgment, a parallel allusion to the final contest between the apostles and Simon Magus. A year earlier, so the legend, Simon Magus had disputed with the apostles Peter and Paul. Furthermore, for this reason, Europe became the tribunal [or Last Judgement] where the pupils of every race turned away [from Simon] who with Simon had been fighting against Peter. The intent of this account was to show that Mog Ruith met the same fate of Simon Magus, that is, having his powers removed by the Prince of the Apostles Peter, thus exposing him as a fraud, like his master. Those familiar with the full account of Simon Magus would know that Mog Ruith was deprived of his 'wheel' in full flight causing his Fall. The powerful censure against magic and Druid priests was self evident in all the Mog Ruith

⁴¹ Müller-Lisowski, *Légende de St. Jean*, p. 49.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 54.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 49–50.

legends. The use of a mechanical device by Simon Magus to fly was exceedingly rare in all sources reporting this event. Aside from this one, the only other narrative that I have come across mentioning a vehicle is by the Greek Church Father Cyril of Alexandria who called it a *daemonium vehiculo* in (*Catechesis*, VI, 15.). The *Táin bó Cúailnge* comes closest, aside from the fragment above, to associating the magician with chariots or wheels when it described Simon Magus's connection with Cú Chulainn's charioteer who was preparing to go fight. The account says that he, "put on his overmantle black raven's feathers. Simon Magus had made it for Darius King of the Romans, and Darius had given it to Conchobar and Conchobar had given it to Cú Chulainn who gave it to his charioteer". The differences with the Mog Ruith account are obvious.⁴⁴

Nevertheless, the major focus throughout in these various sources is that Mog Ruith acquired from Simon Magus the necessary magical powers to perform great feats directed against the apostles. He carried with him magical stones, he at will transformed himself into an animal, and could create a calf from snow. Mog Ruith was said to have even caused the sun to stand still, and obvious allusion to the same miracle in Joshua, and an obvious sign of God's power supposedly working through Mog Ruith.⁴⁵ As in the case of Simon Magus, the Druid Mog Ruith flew into the air, but with the aid of the head of a bird and the skin of a bull without horns to confound his enemies. In this version the demons of *Acta Petri* and *Passio* were veiled in these animal creatures.⁴⁶ Simon Magus, in a sense, continued to live spiritually in the life and deeds of Mog Ruith. Mog Ruith's direct participation in the beheading of John the Baptist was

⁴⁴ The text reads, "Mug Roith m. Fergus a quo Fir Maigi Feine. Is e luid do fhoghlaim druidechta co Simon n-druid é is maroen doronsat in roth ramach tic dar Eoraip riambrath hisin bliadam ria cathugud do Simon fri Pol é Peter. Ocas is aire chairgthir for Eoraip ar daig dalta cach gnee (?) robac moalle fr Simon i cathugud fri Peter," reproduced in, Müller-Lisowski, *Texte zur Mog Ruith Sage*, p. 162 with a German translation. A detailed discussion of the 'wheel' is in, Müller-Lisowski, *Légende de St. Jean*, pp. 57-61. For the charioteer see, C. O'Rahilly, *Táin bó Cúailnge, Recension I*, Dublin, 1976, p. 67 and 185-186 and Dumville, *Biblical Apocrypha*, pp. 336-337, J. F. Kenney, argues that the name Mog Ruith means "Slave of Wheel". The wheel was an instrument used in secret religious services and Mog Ruith was a priest who used it, *Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, p. 751. The reference to Cyril of Jerusalem is in *Catechesis*, VI, 15, PG 33:563.

⁴⁵ Müller-Lisowski, *Légende de Saint Jean*, p. 59.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

another revealing sign of Simon Magus's ongoing war against the people of God. Mog Ruith surfaced in the Irish sources as more than a magician, he was a anti-apostle continuing the work of his spiritual mentor Simon Magus, the chief enemy of Simon Peter and of the Church. If the execution of John the Baptist by Mog Ruith were not enough to tarnish an already soiled reputation, his association with Simon Magus heaped upon him even more dirt. In the Irish legends Simon Magus was repeatedly identified as the Antichrist; therefore, all who followed him were decidedly cohorts of the Evil One.⁴⁷ Whatever miraculous deeds Mog Ruith performed they were all inspired by the spirit of the Evil One and hence a mockery of the true power of God. While the Holy Spirit led one to faith in Christ and eternal life, Mog Ruith represented the road of the Evil One which resulted in eternal damnation.

Monastic Tonsures

Bede and some fragmentary sources recreated alleged debates, with personal embellishments, between the Irish-English and Continental churches concerning monastic tonsures which transpired parallel to the ongoing debates over the date of Easter.⁴⁸

Within these texts the figure of Simon Magus resurfaced, but in a manner virtually free of the apocryphal images as found in the *Acta Petri* and *Passio*. One feature about these texts which sets them apart in their portrayal of Simon Magus is that in all of them the

⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 61–64.

⁴⁸ For background studies on tonsures see, J. Dowden, *An examination of original documents on the question of the form of the Celtic tonsure*, in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 30 (1895–1896), pp. 325–337, with illustrations; Ph. Gobillot, *Sur la tonsure Chrétienne et ses prétendues origines païennes*, in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 21 (1925), pp. 399–454 for a thorough study on its origins. A study directly related to the Merovingians and Anglo-Saxon realms is by, F. James, *Bede and the Tonsure Question*, in *Peritia* 3 (1984), pp. 85–98. A treatment of traditions about beards and hair among the apostles is by D. O. Cróinin, *Cummianus Longus and the Iconography of Christ and the Apostles in Early Irish Literature*, in D. O. Corraín (ed. et al.) *Sages, Saints and Storytellers Celtic Studies in Honour of Professor James Carney*. Maynooth Monographs, 2. Maynooth, 1989, pp. 268–279. An excellent survey is the monograph by L. Trichet, *La Tonsure Vie et mort d'une pratique ecclésiastique*. Paris, 1990. W. Sayers has written the most update study on hair and the Irish in *Early Irish attitudes toward Hair and Beards, Baldness and Tonsure*, in *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* 44 (1991), pp. 154–189.

Primacy of Rome—via Simon Peter in contrast to Simon Magus—was a major theme incessantly emphasized throughout.⁴⁹

Bede reproduced in *Historia*, V, 21, an alleged letter to King Nechtan from Abbot Ceolfrid, regarding the observance of Easter, which was the main issue discussed at length at the king's request.⁵⁰ It is Abbot Ceolfrid who in the latter sections of the letter decided to engage the problem of varieties of monastic tonsures among the Irish and the Scots saying, "Having said this much about Easter briefly and to the point, as you requested, I would also urge you to be sure that the tonsure, about which also you wished me to write, is in accordance both with the use of the Church and of the Christian faith".⁵¹ What is even more fascinating is the manner in which Ceolfrid developed his argument in an attempt to bring the Irish Church into greater conformity with the Universal Church. Ceolfrid opened his discourse with a distinct air of tolerance toward the varieties of tonsures. He conceded the Apostles were not all tonsured alike and that even the Catholic Church did not adopt a "one unvarying form of tonsure".⁵² To cast his views in the broader context of salvation history he turned to the Old Testament. Job, for example, shaved his head during his trials, while Joseph shaved his head when he was on the verge of being freed from slavery.⁵³ Ceolfrid emphasized

⁴⁹ An excellent study on the Primacy of Peter in Ireland is in, J. Ryan, *The Early Irish Church and the See of Peter*, in *Medieval Studies: Presented to Aubrey Gwynn*, S. J. J. A. Wall (ed. et al.), Dublin, 1961, pp. 3-18. Also relevant, J. Higgitt, *The Iconography of St. Peter in Anglo-Saxon England, and St. Cuthbert's coffin*, in *St. Cuthbert: His Cult and his community to A.D. 1200*, G. Bonner (ed. et al.), Woodbridge, 1989, pp. 267-285.

⁵⁰ Bede, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (ed. and trans.) Oxford, 1969, pp. 533-553 and also chapter 22, pp. 553-555.

⁵¹ Ibid., "Verum his de pascha succincte, ut petisti, strictimque/commemoratis, tonsuram quoque, de qua pariter uobis litteras fieri uoluisti, hortor ut ecclesiasticam et Christianae fidei congruam habere curetis," *Historia*, V, 21, pp. 546-547. For other references in the *Historia* see, III, 26, pp. 308-309; IV, 1, pp. 330-331; IV, 14, pp. 378-379; V, 12, pp. 488-489 and 492-493; V, 19, pp. 516-517; and V, 24, pp. 566-567.

⁵² Et quidem scimus, quia neque apostoli omnes uno eodemque sunt modo adtonsi, neque tunc ecclesia catholica, sicut una fide spe et caritate in Deum consenti, ita etiam una atque indissimili totum per orbem tonsurae sibi forma congruit, *Historia*, V, 21, p. 546.

⁵³ Denique ut superiora, ide est patriarcharum, tempora respiciamus, Iob exemplar patientiae, dum ingruente tribulationum articulo caput totondit, probauit utique quia tempore felicitatis capillos nutrire consuerat. At Ioseph, et ipse castitatis humilitatis pietatis ceterarumque uirtutum exsecutor ac doctor eximius, cum seruitio absolendus attonsus esse legitur, patet profecto quia tempore seruitutis intonsis in carcere, crinibus manere solebat, *Historia*, V, 21, p. 546.

that both cherished grace and virtue in their hearts, even though differing in their outward appearance. Moving into the patristic era he highlighted how this was never a pressing issue among the Church Fathers as there had been about Easter observance and matters of doctrine.⁵⁴ Ceolfrid, however, suddenly shifted his argument to focus upon the Apostle Peter and his tonsure as being the most worthy of imitation and adoption. Peter's preeminent tonsure was reinforced because he was the one whom Christ chose to establish the Church. Ceolfrid invoked the Petrine text from the Gospels to highlight Peter's Primacy in the Universal Church. Having established this essential point, Ceolfrid proclaimed that there was no more abhorrent and detestable tonsure than the one worn by the one who wished to buy the Holy Spirit from the apostles and whom Peter rebuked.⁵⁵

Ceolfrid explained his position more clearly in describing how the two alleged tonsures of Simon Peter and Simon Magus differed. The tonsure of Peter was not superior only because the apostle wore it, rather because it was an external symbol or memory of the Lord's Passion. The tonsure, as sign of the Holy Cross, was to be worn in the highest part of the body—where the mind and soul reside—as protection from wicked spirits and a daily reminder that monastics were to mortify the flesh.⁵⁶ For this reason, Ceolfrid strongly admonished those under monastic vows and Holy Orders to observe strictly the correct cutting of the tonsure. Turning once again to the undesirable tonsure Ceolfrid posed the challenge, "But as for the tonsure which Simon Magus is said to have worn, what believer I ask you, will not, at the very sight of it, detest and reject it together with his magic?"⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Maxime cum numquam patribus catholicis sicut de paschae uel fidei diuersitate conflictus, ita etiam de tonsurae diffentia legatur aliqua fuisse controuersia, *Historia*, V, 21, pp. 546-548.

⁵⁵ Nullam magis abominandam detestandamque merito cunctis fidelibus crediderim ea, quam habebat ille, cui gratiam Spiritus Sancti comparare uolenti, *Historia*, V, 21, p. 548.

⁵⁶ Neque uero ob id tantum in coronam adtondimur, quia Petrus ita adtonsus est; sed quia Petrus in memoriam dominicae passionis ita adtonsus est, id circo et nos, qui per eandem passionem saluari desideramus, ipsius passionis signum cum illo in uertice, summa uidelicet corporis nostri part, getamus. . . . signum sanctae crucis eius in fronte portare consueuit, ut crebro uexilli huius munimine a malignorum spirituum defendatur incursibus, crebra huius admonitione doceatur se quoque carnem suam cum uitii et concupiscentiis crucifigere debere; ita etiam oportet eos, qui uel monachi uotum uel gradum clericatus habentes artioribus se necesse habent pro Domino continentiae frenis astringere, *Historia*, V, 21, p. 548.

⁵⁷ Ceterum tonsuram eam, quam magum ferunt habuisse Simonem, quis rogo

Similar to magic, moreover, the tonsure of Simon Magus was deceptive in that in external appearances it seems orthodox but within, as it were, it was evil. Ceolfrid drew this parallel pointing out that on the forehead the tonsure had the external resemblance of a crown; but upon closer inspection of the neck area, that is the back, the crown did not continue, rather it was cut short. The forehead, that which is the most visible, symbolized the physical nature of magic which upon first impressions seemed to be from God.⁵⁸ The back of the neck, conversely, represented the true hidden nature of magic which upon closer examination, exposed its demonic origins. Ceolfrid labeled all such tonsure bearers as simoniacs deprived of the crown of life and condemned to eternal punishment.⁵⁹

After having adopted such a seemingly hard line against the non-Benedictines Ceolfrid expressed a more conciliatory and temperate attitude. He was sure that members of the Irish Church who otherwise maintained Catholic unity in doctrinal belief and piety were pleasing to God, in spite of their wearing an erroneous tonsure.⁶⁰ He argued here that these religious adopted that tonsure out of ignorance rather than in outright defiance of the tonsure of the Universal Church, as worn by the Benedictines. He offered as a concrete example of this state of affairs, Abbot Adamnan, one of the renowned ascetics of his day. Ceolfrid testified that when Adamnan visited his monastery he was impressed with his remarkable wisdom, humility, and devotion.⁶¹ Ceolfrid, somewhat puzzled by this anomaly, inquired

fideliū non statim cum ipsa magia primo detestetur et merito exsufflet aspectu, *Historia*, V, 21, p. 548.

⁵⁸ Quae in frontis quidem superficie coronae uidetur speciem praeferre, sed ubi ad ceruicem considerando perueneris, decurtatam eam, quam te uidere putabas, inuenies coronam, ut merito talem simoniācis et non Christianis habitum conuenire cognoscas, *Historia*, V, 21, p. 548.

⁵⁹ Qui in praesenti quidem uita a deceptis hominibus putabantur digni perpetuae gloria coronae, sed in ea quae hanc sequitur uitam non solum omni spe coronae priuati sed aeterna insuper sunt poena damnati, *Historia*, V, 21, p. 548. See also, *Die Irische Kanonensammlung*, (ed.) H. Wasserschleben, Scientia Verlag Aalen, 1966, pp. 211-212, for descriptions of the divergent tonsure of Simon Magus. A further reference to Peter's tonsure is in *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac*, (trans.) B. Colgrave, Cambridge, 1985, pp. 85 and 179.

⁶⁰ Neque uero me haec ita prosecutum aestimes quasi eos, qui hanc tonsuram habent, condemnandos iudicem, si fide et operibus unitati catholicae fauerint; immo confidenter profiteor plurimos ex eis sanctos ac Deo dignos extitisse, *Historia*, V, 21, p. 550.

⁶¹ Nostrum quoque monasterium uidere uoluisset, miramque in moribus ac uerbis prudentiam humilitatem religionem ostenderet, dixi illi inter alia conloquens, *Historia*, V, 21, p. 550.

of Adamnan as to why he chose to wear a tonsure which did not conform to that worn by Peter. Adamnan responded, if we are to believe the narrative, "You know well, my dear brother, that although I wear the tonsure of Simon after the custom of my country, yet I hate and reject with all my heart the wickedness of simony. I long to follow with what little strength I have in the footsteps of the blessed chief of the apostles". Additional testimony is in the *Fragmentary Annals of Ireland* which portrayed Adamnan denying that he wore the tonsure of Simon Magus and claimed rather that he sported the one of John the Beloved.⁶² Ceolfrid insisted with an attitude of utmost respect that Abbot Adamnan show outwardly, through adoption of the correct tonsure, his inward faithfulness to the Universal Church as embodied in Peter and his tonsure. Ceolfrid joyfully reported that Adamnan accepted the reproof graciously. More importantly, upon his return to Scotland, Adamnan made great headway introducing the correct observance of Easter. As for the tonsure, Ceolfrid lamented that Adamnan was unable to persuade the monks of Iona to adopt the Petrine tonsure, due to his own insufficient episcopal authority.⁶³

Many are the reasons to cautiously accept this retelling of the conversation between Ceolfrid and Adamnan, but I wish to signal yet another. Adamnan's affirmation that he consciously wore the tonsure of Simon Magus—although rejecting simony—is a stretch of the imagination, so Ceolfrid through Bede. The long-standing thorough negative tradition about Simon Magus makes it absolutely incredible to believe—as no doubt readers accepted it as true—that Adamnan or any other Irish Celtic monastic would ever contemplate associations with the most detested of magicians. Furthermore, Adamnan's alleged attempt to separate Simon Magus from simony was a ludicrous proposition by Ceolfrid.

⁶² Respondit ille: "Scias pro certo, frater mi dilecte, quia et si Simonis tonsuram ex consuetudine patria habeam, simoniacam tamen perfidiam tota mente detestor ac respuo; beatissimi autem apotolorum principis, quantum mea paruitas sufficit uestigia sequi desidero", *Historia*, V, 21, p. 550. "Águs as cadli ro ráidh Ad[a] mán, ní [a] raithiris [Simon Druadh] ro bhaoi an coronughudh úd fair, acht ar aithiris Iohannis Bruinne," in *Fragmentary Annals of Ireland*, (ed.) J. N. Rader, Dublin, 1978, pp. 56–57. An earlier edition can be found in *Annals of Ireland. Three Fragments*, (ed.) J. O'Donovan, Dublin, 1860, pp. 20–21 and 112–113.

⁶³ Tametsi eos qui in Hii insula morabantur monachos, quibusque speciali rector is iure praeerat, necdum ad uiam statuti melioris reducere ualebat. Tonsuram quoque, si tantum sibi auctoritatis subesset, emendare meminisset, *Historia*, V, 21, p. 550.

While we ought not accept literally as true this aspect of the narrative we do need to ascertain what the purpose of this exchange of words between Ceolfrid and Adamnan meant. Benedictines like Ceolfrid, although desirous of bringing the Irish monastics in full tonsural conformity, did not consider them outright heretics or schismatics. The invocation of the Simon Magus *typus* in this controversy by those representing the Continental Papal-Benedictine tradition ranked as one of the most delicately balanced of the traditions we are addressing in this study. In all of the other usages of Simon Magus, he was consistently portrayed as a radical anti-apostolic teacher leading people to damnation, an image strikingly absent here. For example, Aldhelm, in a letter to king Geraint, fully reinforced the pervasive presence of the negative traditions about Simon Magus, "However, we have learned that the founder (this mode of) tonsure, in the opinion of many, was Simon, the founder of the magical arts. 'The struggle of the Apostles' [cf. Acts VIII.14–24 and add *Acta Petri* and *Passio*] and the ten books of Clement [cf. Ps. Clement, *Recognitiones*] give witness to what sort and how great was the deception of necromancy that he fraudulently devised against the blessed Peter".⁶⁴ The Irish monastics were consistently praised by the Benedictines for their holiness, love of God, and zealous preaching of the Gospel. They were never characterized as obdurate apostates, even though Adamnan allegedly admitted to wearing Simon Magus's tonsure.⁶⁵ The narrative, furthermore, carefully disassociated the Irish from simony. The main argument emphasized here by Ceolfrid to temper his censures of Adamnan and his tonsure was his insistence upon the abbot's innocent ignorance about this custom. Adamnan came across in his response totally oblivious to the seriousness of his admission to wearing Simon's tonsure.⁶⁶ Of course, the matter had a happy Benedictine ending, they would in time conform to the Petrine tonsure. If Ceolfrid personally failed to obtain an immediate victory through Adamnan, he did so through the intervention of King Nechtan, who decreed:

⁶⁴ See A. Ferreiro for the traditions, *Simon Magus: the Patristic-Medieval Traditions and Historiography*, in *Apocrypha* 7 (1996), pp. 147–165; Aldhelm the Prose Works, (trans.) M. Lapidge and M. Herren, Ipswich, 1979, p. 157.

⁶⁵ See note 62 above for this text.

⁶⁶ *Historia*, V, 21, p. 550.

So I publicly declare and proclaim in the presence of you all, that I will for ever observe this time of Easter, together with all my people; and I decree that all clerics in my kingdom must accept this form of tonsure which we have heard to be so completely reasonable. He at once enforced his word by royal authority also.⁶⁷

Bede noted that King Nechtan used the full measure of his royal authority to enforce this decree throughout his kingdom. Soon after, all of the ministers of the altar and monks embraced the circular tonsure. Bede, in V, 22 of the *Historia* reinforced the wider acceptance of Easter and the tonsure by, “the monks of the Irish extraction who lived in Iona”.⁶⁸ Since Iona held the preeminent place in the Irish Church—what Rome was to the Benedictines—Bede did not miss the opportunity to appreciate the significance of their acceptance of the Continental observance. The Britons, however, Bede lamented refused to conform; thus, they, “still persist in their errors and stumble in their ways”.⁶⁹ I would highlight ‘persist’ but not wholly cut-off. The unwillingness of the Britons to conform prevented them from being in full fellowship with the Christian [Catholic] Church, under the guidance of Peter’s successor in Rome. By way of contrast to accentuate this theme Bede said of the Church in Scotland that it, “rejoiced to submit to the newly-found guidance of Peter the most blessed chief of the apostles, and to be placed under his protection”.⁷⁰ The compliance of the Irish-Scottish Church was a triumph for the Bishop of Rome and the Catholic Church of which he is Primate.

⁶⁷ Vnde palam profiteor uobisque qui adsidetis praesentibus protestor, quia hoc observare tempus paschae cum universa mea gente perpetuo uolo; hanc accipere debere tonsuram, quam plenam esse rationis audimus, omnes qui in meo regno sunt clericos decerno. Nec mora, quae dixerat regia auctoritate perfecit, *Historia*, V, 21, p. 552.

⁶⁸ Nec multo post illi quoque, qui insulam Hii incolebant, monachi Scotticae nationis, cum his quae sibi erant subdita monasteriis, ad ritum paschae ac tonsurae canonicum Domino procurante perducti sunt, *Historia*, V, 22, p. 552.

⁶⁹ Sicut enontra Brettones, qui nolbant Anglis eam quam habebant fidei Christianae notitiam pandere, credentibus iam populis Anglorum et in regula fidei catholicae per omnia instructis, ipsi adhuc inueterati et claudicantes a semitis suis et capite sine corona pratendunt et sollemnia Christi sine ecclesiae Christi societate uenerantur, *Historia*, V, 22, p. 554.

⁷⁰ Adtondebantur omnes in coronam ministri altaris ac monachi; et quasi nouo se discipulatu beatissimi apostolorum principis Petri subditam eiusque tutandam patrocinio gens correcta gaudebat, *Historia*, V, 21, p. 552.

All of the sources in this study utilized Simon Magus to censure a style of tonsure unacceptable to the Benedictines from the Continent and promoted by Rome. The propagation of these traditions was also a means by which papal primacy became increasingly and more vigorously established in the western church. The churches of Ireland and the British Isles faced a clear cut choice: either to integrate themselves to the Catholic communion of saints led by Rome or remain isolated and marginalized and perhaps risk outright excommunication in the long run. One thing was clear in the minds of the Benedictines, things could not remain as they were.

The appearance of Simon Magus in the traditions and sources we have considered have consistent themes and goals. The Flight of Simon Magus and Tonsure disputes highlighted the apostolic authority of the Bishop of Rome. The Mog Ruith legend did so indirectly in its attack upon Druidic priests and magic. The entire pagan Druidic tradition was set in sharp contrast against that of the Church by symbolically aligning Simon Magus with Mog Ruith. In Muirchú's *Patrick*, the Druid Lochru assumed the role of Simon Magus while Patrick that of Simon Peter. The tonsure disputations, as we have emphasized, just as much exalt the Primacy of Peter [Bishop of Rome] over the Universal Church against the regional churches of Ireland and British Isles. The crosses of Ireland dramatically highlighted the apostolic authority of the bishops who were in submission to Rome as expressed in the images of Peter and Paul ramming their croziers into the head of Simon Magus to bring him down. By way of contrast, in the Irish-Scot and Benedictine Easter and tonsure polemic we discover a very restrained use of Simon Magus which fell short of representing the Irish-Scot church as hopeless apostates, while at the same time emphasizing their need to submit to Rome. This gentle pastoral approach revealed the spirit and intent of those representing the Benedictine-Papal viewpoint, one which was at once both firm yet charitable, and that in the long term bore the intended fruit of integration with the Universal Church.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

SIMON MAGUS, NICOLAS OF ANTIOCH, AND MUHAMMAD¹

Scholars of the Middle Ages have established that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there was an intellectual shift in the Christian polemic against Islam. Whereas in earlier centuries heresiologists defined Islam as pagan, in the high Middle Ages the prevailing opinion emerged that it was instead a heresy.² Medieval writers, who drew upon a rich theological tradition dating to the patristic era, sustained and expanded this new perspective. Many of the patristic theological refutations against heretics proved once again useful as groups such as the Waldensians, Albigensians, and others made serious challenges against the dominant orthodoxy. Even though Islam had already been a formidable presence in the Mediterranean—especially since the conquest of the Iberian Peninsula in the early eighth century—in the high Middle Ages the continued expansion of Islam, including its defeat of the Crusaders, was perceived to be an increased threat to Christendom. A corollary development was the greater interest in Islam—mainly to discredit or refute it—by some leading western Christian theologians. One thing is certain: medieval writers were intent on demonstrating the heretical nature of Islamic doctrines and the perversity of Islamic morality. Medieval polemicists, however, resorted to a standard theological weapon to assault Islam, typology. Through typology medieval writers were capable of constructing alleged historical and doctrinal links between Muhammad

¹ I want to thank Professors Larry J. Simon, John V. Tolan, Thomas E. Burman, and Jeffrey B. Russell for their useful comments. All conclusions are mine, however.

² John V. Tolan, "Anti-hagiography: Embrico of Mainz's *Vita Mahumeti*," *Journal of Medieval History* 22 (1996): 25–41. See the collection of essays in *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam*, ed. John V. Tolan. Garland Medieval Casebooks, 10. (New York: Garland, 1996). Still relevant and fundamental, Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West. Making of an Image*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 163–94. For a survey see, R. W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962), 16–45. John of Damascus had paved the way in this transition, D. J. Sahas, *John of Damascus on Islam. The "Heresy of the Ishmaelites."* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972), 3–95 and 131–37.

and two of the most notorious "types" of heresy from early Christianity: Simon Magus and Nicolas of Antioch.³

My purpose is to compare and contrast how writers appropriated the patristic "types" of Simon Magus and Nicolas of Antioch and adapted them to condemn Islam as heresy and denounce their immorality. The sources for Nicolas are in the anti-Islamic writings of Peter the Venerable, the anonymous *Liber Nicholay* (fourteenth century), and the *Pisa Anonymous* (fourteenth century).⁴ The source for Simon Magus is the *Vita Mahumeti* of Embrico of Mainz.⁵

³ For the figure of Simon Magus in patristic and medieval thought see, A. Ferreiro "Simon Magus: The Patristic-Medieval Traditions and Historiography," *Apocrypha* 7 (1996): 147–65.

⁴ For Peter the Venerable see, Petri Venerabilis, *Epistola 17, Opera omnia*, ed J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Latina* (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1890) [hereafter *PL*] 189:340–41 and *Adversus nefandum sectam Saracenorum libri duo. PL* 189:665. Also useful are P.-F. Mandonnet, "Pierre le Vénérable et son activité littéraire contre L'Islam," *Revue Thomiste* 1 (1893): 328–42; P. Alphandéry, "Mahomet-Antichrist dans le Moyen Age latin," *Mélanges Hartwig Derenbourg*, (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1909), 261–77; M.-Th. D'Alverny, "Deux traductions latines du Coran au Moyen Age," *Archives d'histoire, doctrine et littérature du Moyen Age* 16 (1948): 69–131 and M.-Th. D'Alverny, "Pierre le Vénérable et la Légende de Mahomet," *A Cluny. Congrès Scientifique; . . . Odon et Odilon 9–11 juillet 1949*. (Dijon: Bernigaud and Privat, 1950), 161–70. J. Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam*. Princeton Oriental Studies, 23 (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1964). G. Constable, *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*. 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967). John V. Tolan, "Peter the Venerable on the Diabolical Heresy of the Saracens," in *The Devil, Heresy, and Witchcraft in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honor of Jeffrey B. Russell*. Cultures, Beliefs, and Traditions, 6, ed. A. Ferreiro. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1998), 345–67.

On the *Liber Nicholay* see, A. D'Ancona, "La leggenda di Maometto in occidente," *Giornale storico della letteratura Italiana* 13 (1889): 199–281. An edition with analysis of the *Pisa Anonymous* is in A. Mancini, "Per lo studio della leggenda di Maometto in Occidente," *Rendiconti della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* 10, ser. 6 (1934): 325–49. This study is reproduced in, *Studi di Critica e Storia Letteraria di Alessandro D'Ancona*. 2nd ed. (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1912), 1:165–306.

The most thorough treatment of Embrico of Mainz's *Vita Mahumeti* is by Guy Cambier, *Embricon de Mayence La Vie de Mahomet*. Collection Latomus, 52 (Bruxelles: Latomus, Revue d'études Latines, 1961). See also his, "Embricon de Mayence (1010?–1077) est-il l'auteur de la *Vita Mahumeti*?" *Latomus* 16 (1957): 468–79 and "L'épisode des taureaux dans La légende de Mahomet (ms. 50, Bibl. du Sém. de Pisc)," in *Collection Latomus, Hommages à Léon Hermann* (Bruxelles: Latomus, Revue d'études Latines, 1960), 44:228–36. The only study to begin an exploration between Embrico's *Vita Mahumeti* and the apocryphal legends about Simon Peter is in John V. Tolan, "Anti-hagiography," 25–41.

I. Patristic Background

The author who transformed Simon Magus—otherwise only mentioned briefly in the canonical New Testament—into the father of all Gnostic sects was Irenaeus of Lyons in *Adversus haereses*.⁶ From this single source the majority of subsequent Greek and Latin Fathers either expanded or repeated verbatim the view that Simon Magus was a heretic so that by the fourth and fifth centuries he was considered the “perpetrator of all heresies,” according to Jerome and Vincent of Lérins.⁷

Irenaeus was the same originating source for the tradition about Nicolas of Antioch. Irenaeus presented Nicolas as one of several heretical “successors” of Simon Magus. In the tradition, as it unfolded beyond Irenaeus, Nicolas’s central error was not doctrinal as such, but sexual immorality. Irenaeus linked Nicolas, one of the alleged seven deacons consecrated at Jerusalem by the Apostles, with the sect of Nicolaitans that was flourishing in the second century.⁸ Irenaeus, furthermore, believed this was the same Nicolas and his sect that the Apostle John censured in the Apocalypse.⁹

⁶ Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses in Contre les hérésies*. Livre 1.2., ed. A. Rousseau. Sources Chrétiennes, 264. (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1979), 312–13.

⁷ Ferreiro, “Jerome’s polemic against Priscillian in his *Letter to Ctesiphon* (133, 4)” *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 39.2 (1993): 309–32. Ferreiro, “Simon Magus and Priscillian in the *Commonitorium* of Vincent of Lérins,” *Vigiliae Christianae* 49 (1995): 180–88.

⁸ The Nicolaitans have received more extensive commentary in modern scholarship. For the patristic era and scholarly issues see, Kenneth A. Fox, “The Nicolaitans, Nicolaus, and the early Church,” *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses* 23.4 (1994): 485–96. A discussion of Nicolaitans, Jerome, and Priscillian is in A. Ferreiro, “Jerome’s polemic against Priscillian,” 309–32. Michael Topham engages briefly the possible association of the Nicolaitans with the enigmatic beast bearing the 666 name in the Apocalypse of John, “Hanniqola’itēs,” *The Expository Times* 98.2 (1986): 44–45. The following studies focus principally on questions related to the early Church Fathers: P. Prigent, “L’hérésie Asiate et l’église confessante de l’apocalypse à Ignace,” *Vigiliae Christianae* 31 (1977): 1–22; N. Brox, “Nikolaos und Nikolaiten,” *Vigiliae Christianae* 19 (1965): 23–30; Maurice Goguel, “Les Nicolaïtes,” *Revue de l’histoire des religions* 58 (1937): 5–36; Adolf von Harnack, “The sect of the Nicolaitans and Nicolaus, the deacon in Jerusalem,” *Journal of Religion* 3 (1923): 413–22; G. A. van den Bergh van Eysinga, “Die in der Apocalypse bekämpfte Gnosis,” *Zeitschrift für die Neue Testamentliche Wissenschaft* 13 (1912): 293–305; G. Wohlenberg, “Nikolaus von Antiochien und die Nikolaiten,” *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift* 6 (1895): 923–61; and Leonhard Seesemann, “Die Nikolaiten. Ein Beitrag zur ältesten häresiology,” *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 66 (1893): 47–82.

⁹ Clement of Alexandria disagreed with Irenaeus on the question about whether the Nicolas of the New Testament was himself immoral and encouraged his followers to be likewise. Kenneth Fox has argued that Irenaeus and Clement did not

In the fourth and fifth centuries a sect of Nicolaitans no longer existed, but a *topos* of Nicolaitism surfaced and remained deeply ingrained in the heresiological literature. Patristic writers such as Hippolytus, Epiphanius of Salamis, Filastrius of Brescia, Augustine, and Isidore of Seville promoted in varying degrees of emphasis the *topos* of Nicolaitism that focused on his sexual immorality. An example is the portrait of the "heretic," Priscillian of Avila, that some of his opponents created through the use of typology.¹⁰ This portrayal is the primary received tradition concerning Simon Magus and Nicolas that Christian medieval polemicists against Islam had at their disposal.

II. *Simon Magus and Embrico of Mainz's Vita Mahumeti*

Of the several legends found in the apocryphal texts *Acta Petri* and the *Passio*, the one describing the aerial flight of Simon Magus became the most retold in literary sources and in art.¹¹ In the twelfth century Embrico of Mainz, about whom we know nothing else, became one of several writers who in his *Vita Mahumeti*, written around the year 1100, and one of the earliest Latin lives of Muhammad, availed himself of the apocryphal Simon Magus figure, as noted by John Tolan in a recent article. These accounts were undoubtedly written to counter those by Muslims that presented the Prophet as superior to

disagree that the New Testament Nicolas founded the sect then existing in the second century. Clement, moreover, did depart from Irenaeus when he condemned the Nicolaitans for justifying their sexual behavior in part by claiming to imitate the moral dictates of their founder. Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata III, Cap IV, Die griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller*. 2 band, ed. O. Stählin, (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1906), 1:207-8. Fox, "The Nicolaitans," 490 and 495.

¹⁰ For patristic sources see, É. Amann, "Nicolaites," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* 11.1 (1931) cols. 499-506. The text of Isidore is in, J. Oroz Reta and others, *San Isidoro de Sevilla. Etimologías I (Libros I-X)*. Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 433, (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1982), 698-701. Also, Ferreiro, "Jerome's polemic," 316-19. Priscillian, *Tractates*, I, 6, 23-26 and I, 27, 4-7, in *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, 18, (Vindobonae: Hoelder-Pinchler-Tempsky, 1889), 7 and 23. Priscillian not only deemed it necessary to disassociate himself from Nicolaitism (the *topos*), but even Jerome, in the early fifth century, used it to discredit Priscillian and the sect. See Ferreiro, "Priscillian and Nicolaitism," *Vigiliae Christianae* 52.4 (1998): 382-92.

¹¹ Consult the edition, *Actus Petri cum Simone = (Acta Petri)* and *Passio Sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli = (Passio) Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, ed. R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet. (Heldesheim-New York: Georg Olms, 1972). For a late artistic example see, A. Ferreiro, "Simon Magus and Simon Peter in a Baroque altar relief in the Cathedral of Oviedo, Spain," *Hagiographica* 5 (1998): 141-58, ill.

Christ.¹² In this study I intend to further focus on Embrico's borrowings, alterations, and adaptations of the apocryphal Simon Magus into his *Vita Mahumeti*.

In the *Passio*, Simon Magus traveled with the intent of carrying out two specific goals: to promote himself as an apostle and to tarnish the reputation of the apostle Peter.¹³ He also successfully, until Peter arrived, deceived the Emperor Nero, a prominent aristocrat Marcellus, and throngs of people in Rome. Before the final confrontation Peter and Simon Magus engaged in a variety of preliminary public duels wherein miraculous powers were manifested.¹⁴ All of these episodes functioned as a prelude in the narrative that reached its apogee with the aerial flight of Simon Magus.

Simon Magus, after losing his patience with Peter, challenged the apostle to a final duel at the court of Nero before a multitude of people. Simon Magus then dazzled Nero and the crowd by miraculously flying over the city of Rome. Simon Peter, unshaken, perceived through spiritual insight that the Magus was flying with the aid of demons. Peter prayed to God to remove the demons. At once, Simon Magus was released and fell headlong onto the pavement. His followers, the few who were left, carried him near death to a physician named Castor.¹⁵ The physician was unable to help him; consequently Simon Magus died in disgrace and, worse still, perished in eternal damnation. The *Passio* preserved in almost all points the basic outline of the *Acta Petri* with the important exception that in this work Simon Magus perished immediately upon impact.¹⁶

¹² Tolan, "Anti-hagiography," 25–41. An example is the earliest biography of Muhammad by Ibn Ishaq's *Sirah*. A thorough study is in G. D. Newby, *The Making of the Last Prophet. A reconstruction of the earliest biography of Muhammad*. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1989) See especially the discussion at pages 1–32. Consult also Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, 29–33.

¹³ Hinc populis seditiosam murmurationem agentibus Simon excitatus est in zelum, et coepit de Petro multa mala dicere, dicens eum magnum esse et seductorem. credebant autem illi hi qui mirabantur signa eius, *Passio*, cap. 11, 129–31.

¹⁴ *Acta Petri*, cap. 25–26, 72–73

¹⁵ *Acta Petri*, cap. 31–32, 81–85. Simon autem male tractatus inuenit qui eum tollerent in grauato extra Roman Aricia. et ibi paucos dies fecit et inde tultus est quasi exiliaticum ab urbe nomine Castorem Terracina et ibi duo medici concidebant eum, extremum autem die angelum satanae fecerunt ut expiraret, *Acta Petri*, cap. 32, 85.

¹⁶ Et continuo dismissus cecidit in locum qui Sacra Via dicitur, et in quattuor parties fractus quattuor silices adunauit, qui sunt ad testimonium uictoriae apostolicae useque in hodiernum diem, *Passio*, cap. 56, 167.

While Embrico undoubtedly borrowed from the apocryphal legend of the aerial flight of Simon Magus, he altered it deeply in *Vita Mahumeti*. His goal, however, was similar to that of early Christian exegetes: to create typological links between a contemporary heretic, in this case Muhammad, and the father of all heresy, Simon Magus.¹⁷ Medieval art and literature in most instances associates the flight of human beings with the occult and witchcraft. The demonic flight of Simon Magus became a pervasive image in literary and artistic works that reinforced a disapproving view of human flight as a mockery of God's power. One example is an eleventh-century text entitled, "Incident at Rheims," which compares Simon Magus to a flying witch.¹⁸ Another text by Eilmer of Malmesbury identified the attempt at human flight by an anonymous person as the fruit of magic and witchcraft and not of the Holy Spirit.¹⁹ Medieval Christian polemicists did not just dismiss as false the Islamic tradition that Muhammad had ascended bodily to heaven. They also saw it as a cheap imitation of the "genuine" Ascension of Christ (Luke 24:50-51 and Acts 1:1-15). The flight of Muhammad did not escape the attention of Embrico in the *Vita Mahumeti*. It is, moreover, only one of several Islamic traditions that converge with apocryphal Christian material in this polemical work.

The stories about Muhammad involving aerial flight come from a variety of sources and are themselves complex. Embrico told the story of how the Magus finally became personally acquainted with Muhammad.²⁰ The Magus went to Jerusalem where the "father of the city" had died. After the Magus deceived many people, the throng demanded that the King of Jerusalem proclaim him as a

¹⁷ The flight of Simon Magus is at *Acta Petri*, cap. 32, 83 and *Passio*, cap. 50-56, 163-67. A brief discussion is in Ferreiro, "Simon Magus: Patristic-Medieval Traditions," 164-65.

¹⁸ "A marvelous incident at Rheims," in *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, trans. W. L. Wakefield and A. P. Evans, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), 951-54 and 727.

¹⁹ L. White Jr., "Eilmer of Malmesbury, an eleventh century aviator," *Technology and Culture* 2 (1961): 97-111.

²⁰ On the flight of Muhammad see, W. W. Comfort, "The literary role of the Saracens in the French Epic," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 55 (1940): 628-59, at 634-35. By far the most thorough treatment to date is by A. Eckhardt, "Le cercueil Flottant de Mahomet," *Mélanges de philologie romane et de littérature médiévale offerts à Ernest Hoepffner*, (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1949), 77-88. Also J. Muñoz Sendino, *La Escala de Mahoma*, (Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1949), 151-55.

“pontifex” of the city, its principal religious figure. Once he was installed as pontifex, a group of demons appeared that terrified the people, who consequently rebelled and rejected the Magus as their pontifex. The Magus called upon other demons to carry him away to Libya. From there the Magus, reacting to his rejection, vowed as an act of vengeance to corrupt the Church, which he obviously blamed for the negative demonic activity.²¹ He met Muhammad in Libya, where they plotted and successfully killed the governor of Libya. The Magus, then, persuaded Muhammad to marry the governor’s widow, and Muhammad soon was appointed the governor of Libya.²² The flight of the Magus with the aid of demons has similarities in its main rubrics to Simon Magus’s flight in the *Acta Petri* and the *Passio*.

In a detailed study, Alexandre Eckhardt identified another legend associated with the aerial flight of Muhammad, but this time one that took place after his death and one not involving demons. It was Embrico’s text, previously attributed to Hildebert of Le Mans, that contains the story about Muhammad floating with the use of magnets.²³ The tradition about the use of magnets to suspend objects has a long history dating back into Antiquity and the early Middle Ages.²⁴

When Embrico associated these magnets with Muhammad he was making use of a long-standing tradition. Embrico says that a monk magician built a temple in Libya to honor Muhammad, but that the monk used magnets to suspend Muhammad’s body to deceive the faithful.²⁵ It is obvious that Embrico’s story was a blatant denial of the Muslim belief that Muhammad ascended bodily to heaven. In any case, the gullible people were led astray by the feigned miraculous feat. In fact, all of Libya embraced the deception. Embrico

²¹ Cambier, *Embricon de Mayence*, 52–53 and 56. Tolan, “Anti-hagiography,” 35.

²² Cambier, *Embricon de Mayence*, 58–59. Tolan, “Anti-hagiography,” 35–36.

²³ Eckhardt, “Le cercueil Flottant,” 82. See the detailed recent study by, J. V. Tolan, “Un cadavre mutilé: le déchirement polémique de Mahomet (I),” *Le Moyen Age* 104 (1998): 53–72. Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, 31.

²⁴ Pliny in *Historia Naturale* 34–14 mentions a temple built by Plotemius for Queen Arimis that used magnets to suspend a statue in her honor. In the Middle Ages even Rufinus, Bede, and Cassiodorus mediated and kept alive the belief in the magical properties of magnets to defy gravity, as it were. Augustine expressed a more rational position in that he attributed the use of magnets to suspend objects to natural forces used by human ingenuity and less so to supernatural powers. Isidore of Seville, (*Orig. Etym.* XVI, 1) in his entry on magnetism cited Pliny and Augustine as his source. Eckhardt, “Le cercueil Flottant,” 80–82.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 82.

attributed the entire feat both to magical powers and to perverted human ingenuity.²⁶ As we approach the thirteenth century, however, sources attribute the floating body of Muhammad at a shrine to magnets, human trickery, and not to supernatural powers.²⁷ The anonymous *Liber Nicholay* (fourteenth century) mentions the magnets and thus does not attribute the marvel to magic. It also places the prophet in Mecca, not Libya.²⁸ In the end, whether Muhammad's body is suspended by magnets or by the intervention of demonic powers, they both originate from and have their foundation in the same source: the Devil. Christian medieval sources depict Muhammad as a fraud and a magician. Yet another crucial corollary teaching is the belief that Muhammad had been a disciple of and was mentored by a fraud or deceiver, such as the Magus of the *Vita Mahumeti*. Medieval polemicists were intent on demonstrating through this parallel tradition that Muhammad had not received any of his alleged revelations from God, but rather from cohorts of the Evil One.

In *Vita Mahumeti* the two major figures who collaborated to deceive people were an enigmatic Magus and Muhammad.²⁹ Their relationship is not a mirror image of the Simon Magus figure in the apocryphal texts. Unlike Simon Magus in the *Acta Petri*, the Magus does not travel alone, and equally absent is the ongoing struggle with a rival (Simon Peter). The primary goal of the Magus, similar to that of Simon Magus, was to aggrandize himself. He accomplished this task primarily through the seduction of Muhammad into doctrinal and moral error. Muhammad did not come close to approximating the figure of Senator Marcellus of the *Acta Petri*, who was eventually liberated by Simon Peter.³⁰ Muhammad in *Vita Mahumeti* was never rescued from the wiles of the Magus. Moreover, Muhammad was not described as a high born aristocrat like Marcellus, but as a camel herder who had been chosen to deliver God's final message to humankind. Embrico conversely utilized the "rustic origins" of Muhammad to portray him as a gullible, vulnerable, and dishonest follower of the Magus.³¹ John Tolan deftly argues that Embrico of

²⁶ Ibid., 83. Tolan, "Un cadavre mutilé," 63.

²⁷ Eckhardt, "Le cercueil Flottant," 86.

²⁸ Ibid., 85. See D'Ancona, "La leggenda di Maometto," 199–281. See also Tolan, "Un cadavre mutilé," 65.

²⁹ Cambier, *Embricon de Mayence*, 12. Tolan, "Anti-hagiography," 31–35.

³⁰ *Acta Petri*, cap. 13–14, 60–61.

³¹ Cambier, *Embricon de Mayence*, 12. Tolan, "Anti-hagiography," 35–36.

Mainz, like other medieval Christian anti-Muslim polemicists, intended in *Vita Mahumeti* to number Muhammad in the company of the eternally damned, such as the Antichrist, Judas, Nero, and Simon Magus.³²

The Magus of *Vita Mahumeti* and the apocryphal Simon Magus possessed magical powers that both magi effectively used to impress and seduce throngs of people and key leaders like Muhammad and Nero. Furthermore, the Magus and Simon Magus at times faked miracles to deepen the deception of their followers. In *Vita Mahumeti* Muhammad demonstrated his powers by allegedly taming a wild bull. The Magus, however, had orchestrated the entire deception, since unknown to the crowd, the "wild" bull had been raised by Muhammad and thus was already tame in his own presence and that of the Magus.³³

The taming of the bull, or wild animals in general, by Muhammad was part of a *topos* used by Christian exegetes both to promote their heroes and to condemn enemies.³⁴ The *Acta Petri* and *Passio*, for example, also contain fascinating stories about ravenous dogs. I have already written an extensive analysis of these legends, so I will limit my comments to those points that are relevant to this study.³⁵

Simon Magus in *Acta Petri* put a spell on Senator Marcellus's dog to keep Simon Peter away from the villa where the magician lived, and which he used as a headquarters of sorts. Simon Peter tamed the dog, endowed it with human speech, and used it to expose Simon Magus as a fraud to Senator Marcellus and others gathered at his home.³⁶ In the *Passio*, Peter and Paul, in the presence of Nero, engaged in a duel with Simon Magus involving hostile dogs. Simon Magus magically conjured up ravenous dogs to attack Peter. The apostle, knowing in advance the machinations of the magician, offered

³² Tolan, "Anti-hagiography," 27 and 41. Tolan, "Un cadavre mutilé," 57 and 62; Tolan, "The Diabolical Heresy," 359–62. Nero and Simon Magus are presented as close associates in the *Passio*, cap. 57–58, 167–70, where Nero ordered the arrest of Peter and Paul after Simon Magus's death. John of Damascus called Islam the "forerunner of the Antichrist," in Sahas, *John of Damascus*, 68 and 133.

³³ Cambier, "L'épisode des taureaux," 231–34. Cambier, *Embricon de Mayence*, 63. Tolan, "Anti-hagiography," 36–37.

³⁴ Tolan, "Anti-hagiography," 38.

³⁵ *Acta Petri*, cap. 8–14, 54–61. For a treatment of the dog legends and Simon Magus see, Ferreiro, "Simon Magus, Dogs, and Simon Peter," in *The Devil, Heresy, and Witchcraft*, 45–89 ill.

³⁶ *Acta Petri*, cap. 9–14, 56–61. "Et respiciens Petus canem magnum catena grande ligatum, accedens soluit eum, canis autem solutus uocem humanam accipiens dixit ad Petrum," cap. 9, 56–57.

the dogs bread that he had previously hidden in his sleeves. Upon eating the bread the dogs instantly vanished into thin air.³⁷ In both legends Simon Magus was able to control animals; that is, until the apostle Peter undid his magic and either liberated or vanquished the beasts. Although Simon Magus did indeed possess magical powers in these apocryphal stories, they were nevertheless demonic and deceptive.

In *Vita Mahumeti* the Magus and Muhammad do not possess any magical powers to control or tame the bull. Human trickery, pure and simple, carries out the deception. This form of feigned miracles appears in the *Passio*, in which Simon Magus claimed to decapitate himself and to raise himself from the dead. With cunning deception he led the crowd to believe the “miracle” by substituting the head of a goat as his own.³⁸ Whether the wonders were supernatural or feigned, Simon Magus and the Magus were agents of the Evil One intent on deceiving specific individuals—Senator Marcellus, Nero, or Muhammad—or multitudes of people. In the case of *Vita Mahumeti*, Embrico of Mainz seemed intent upon establishing that a false teacher, the Magus, had mentored Muhammad.

We can affirm several points about the relationship between Embrico of Mainz’s *Vita Mahumeti* and the apocryphal *Acta Petri* and *Passio*. Embrico did avail himself of apocryphal Christian legends and *topoi* to create his own portrait about the emergence and subsequent demise of Muhammad. It is also evident that Embrico altered the apocryphal sources to fit his own agenda and that in some ways he was appropriating *topoi* more than actually transforming in blueprint fashion the apocryphal legends of Simon Magus. To what extent Embrico’s readers would have recognized these apocryphal echoes is not easy for us to ascertain. We can be sure that readers of *Vita Mahumeti* believed they were receiving an accurate historical explanation of the origins of Islam and its founder Muhammad. The *Vita Mahumeti* as such became one of many literary works utilized by medieval Christian writers to argue that the Islamic faith and Muhammad were distortions of the true faith.

³⁷ *Passio*, cap. 25–27, 140–43. Petrus uero extendens manus in orationem, ostendit canibus eum quem benedixerant panem: quem ut uiderunt canes subito nusquam comparuerunt, cap. 27, 143. Ferreiro, “Simon Magus, Dogs, and Simon Peter,” 74–80 and 86–88.

³⁸ *Passio*, cap. 25, 140–41.

III. *Nicolas of Antioch and Muhammad*

Peter the Venerable and writers of two anonymous works, the aforementioned *Liber Nicholay* (fourteenth century) and a second that we shall call the *Pisa Anonymous* (fourteenth century), also used Nicolaitism in the Christian polemic against Islam. The unedited *Liber Nicholay*, which survives in several manuscripts—the best one deposited at the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris (no. 14503) and that shares similarities with the anonymous work in the *Biblioteca del Seminario di Pisa* (cod. 50)—contributed to the Christian attempt to present Islam as a heresy and not a pagan sect.³⁹ The one area of major disagreement between the Paris and Pisa manuscripts is in the alleged relationship between Nicolas of Antioch and Muhammad, or even a possible third party intermediary linking the two. The papacy also used the ‘type’ effectively to deal with the issue regarding clerical marriage.⁴⁰

Peter the Venerable (1115–1275), abbot of Cluny, was the pre-eminent writer, having a well-grounded background in patristic heresiology. He was also intent on correcting what he believed were false histories of Muhammad circulated by other Christian writers.⁴¹ Initially

³⁹ For the Pisa text see, Mancini, “Per lo studio,” 325–49.

⁴⁰ In the eleventh century the Gregorian Reform papacy confronted the pervasive practice of clerical marriage. The issue had been long disputed in the western Church, but it was not until the eleventh century that the papacy prohibited clerical marriage altogether. To do so, the papacy issued a series of papal bulls spanning from the Lateran Council of 1059, convened by Nicolas II, to the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 under Innocent III. Earlier in 1022, however, the German Emperor Henry II called a Synod at Pavia that condemned clerical marriage and at which he threatened to punish these clerics by personally deposing them. There were those in the Church who went further than condemning clerical marriage as a mortal sin; they also categorized it as a heresy. To do so, moreover, these polemicists harkened back to the patristic era to revive the Nicolaitan heresy to condemn medieval clerical marriage.

Leading the way in the eleventh century to identify married clergy as Nicolaitans was Peter Damian. In the twelfth century Gerhoh of Reichensberg wrote a lengthy theological excursus wherein he argued, among other things, why both Simoniacs and Nicolaitans were deserving of the name “heretics.” Ulrich D’Insola, on the other side of the debate, rejected the epitaph of Nicolaitan to argue that secular clergy should be allowed to marry. These defenders of “Nicolaitism,” as applied to married clergy, remained a minority that did not prevail against the plenary papal ban in the Western Church. J. B. Russell, *Dissent and Reform in the Early Middle Ages*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965), 136–43, at 138. See note 3 for the sources.

⁴¹ Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable*, 37–38. Tolan, “Diabolical Heresy,” 356–67. Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, 37–41.

he was himself, according to James Kritzeck, unsure whether Islam was to be categorized a pagan faith or a Christian heresy.⁴² At Cluny he had access to a rich depository of patristic writings.⁴³ In a letter to Bernard of Clairvaux, Peter wrote that just as the Church Fathers opposed the false teachers of their day, he was now going to oppose the Muslims.⁴⁴ To argue more effectively against Islam, he visited Spain between 1142 and 1143 to acquaint himself with that faith. He even assembled a team of scholars knowledgeable of Islam to teach him. Among them were Robert of Ketton, Herman of Dalmatia, Peter of Toledo, Peter of Poitiers, and a Muslim named Muhammad.⁴⁵

The advent of Islam recreated for the Church a situation similar to that which it had faced earlier in the doctrinal debates of the third and fourth centuries with the Gnostics, Montanists, and other groups. The similarity lies in that the Gnostics claimed to have a superior revelation arguing that they alone were the true spiritual successors of Christ and the apostles, while the Catholics, of course, made the same claims to counter the Gnostics.⁴⁶ Medieval writers, especially in the eleventh century, faced a somewhat similar challenge from Islam. Muslims argued that the Prophet had received a direct revelation from God (Allah), which superseded that of the Jews and Christians. They maintained, however, that Muhammad was the fulfillment of a family of prophets beginning with Abraham, the Old Testament prophets, John the Baptist, and ending with Jesus. Unlike the Jews, Muslims accepted Jesus as a righteous prophet, but they did not embrace the Christian belief in the divinity of Christ and his equality with the Father. As Irenaeus had done before with the Gnostics, now Peter the Venerable set out to explain the sinister origins and errors of Islam and the dubious background of its founder. Recourse by Peter the Venerable to the patristic antiheretical liter-

⁴² Ibid., 39. Daniel, *Islam and the West*, 183–88.

⁴³ Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable*, 40–41. Tolan, “Diabolical Heresy,” 347–48.

⁴⁴ Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable*, 37. For the letter see, Constable, *Letters of Peter*, 1:274–99 and 2:275–84.

⁴⁵ D’Alverny, “Pierre le Vénérable,” 166. For Robert of Ketton see, Thomas E. Burman, “*Tafsīr* and Translation: Traditional Arabic Qur’ān Exegesis and the Latin Qur’ans of Robert of Ketton and Mark of Toledo,” *Speculum* 73.3 (1998): 703–32 and Tolan, “Diabolical Heresy,” 354–58. Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, 37.

⁴⁶ Fox, “The Nicolaitans,” 493. Peter the Venerable, *Epistola* 17, *PL* 189:340. For the *Summa totius* text, *PL* 189:653. For an early Christian usage of the Nicolaitan type see, A. Ferreiro, “Priscillian and Nicolaitism,” 382–92.

ature is prominently evident in *Summa totius haeresis Saracenorum*, the lengthier *Liber contra sectam sive haeresim Saracenorum*, and *Epistola* 17 addressed to Bernard of Clairvaux.

The letter to Bernard of Clairvaux contains virtually an identical restating of his reference to Nicolaitism in the *Summa totius*.⁴⁷ A significant departure is that Peter did not attempt to connect directly Nicolas, the alleged founder of the Nicolaitans, with Muhammad, as is the case in some of the other sources discussed below. Peter instead believed the immorality of the sect of the Nicolaitans had been made manifest again in the practices [*legem*] of the contemporary Saracens [*modernorum Sarracenorum*].⁴⁸ A fundamental question surfaces about Peter's consultation of patristic heresiological literature: Why did he employ the Nicolaitans to initiate his attack on Islam and why did he not follow the model of all patristic heresiologists in using the "father" of all heresy, Simon Magus?

A perusal of early Christian writers beginning with Irenaeus in the third century to Isidore of Seville in the seventh confirms a consistent tradition that designated Simon Magus as the spiritual founder of all heretical sects. Nicolas of Antioch always appears as one of the many successors of Simon Magus and never as holding the primacy of all heretics.⁴⁹

Peter the Venerable departed markedly from the patristic tradition by excluding Simon Magus altogether in his discussion. In *Liber contra sectam sive haeresim Saracenorum* Peter the Venerable recalled the ancient heresies from Basileides to Eunomius, which he maintained were, once again, made manifest in the teachings of Muhammad.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ (The italics reflects the textual differences of the *Summa totius*.) Putant etiam enim quidam Nicholaum illum unum ex septem *diaconibus* primis *existisse* *diaconibus* fuisse, et Nicholaitarum ab eo dictorum sectam, quae etiam in apocalypsi *Joannis arguitur* (*Apoc. II*), nominatur, hanc modernorum Sarracenorum legem existere. Somniant et aliis alios, et sicut lectionis incuriosi et rerum gestarum ignari, sicut et in aliis casibus, falsa quaelibet opinantur, in Constable, *Letters of Peter*, 2:295. See also *Ibid.*, 2:275-84. The Letter is also in *PL* 189:340 and at 653 in the *Summa totius*. See Tolán, "Diabolical Heresy" on Peter and the Church Fathers, 361 and note 34.

⁴⁸ Constable, *Letters of Peter*, 2:295.

⁴⁹ See notes 6 and 7.

⁵⁰ Transeo antiquos ipsa antiquitate minus famosos haereticos, Basilidem, Apellem, Marcionem, Hermogenem, Cataphrigas, Eucratitas, Montanum cum Prisca et Maximilla feminis insanis, Novatianum, Eunomium, multaque alia Christiani nominis monstra, in Peter the Venerable, *PL* 189:665. Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable*, 221, 37, and 41.

By way of contrast, he continued by citing a list of Catholic authorities such as Justin Martyr and Theophilus of Antioch. Then, with a touch of Gallic pride he remembered Irenaeus of Lyons, renowned bishop and martyr.⁵¹

Peter created yet another list of heretics whom Satan had brought forth to oppose and subvert the Church.⁵² This second group of heretics, however, is the only one that Peter refuted explicitly to identify the errors of Muhammad. This refutation does not mean the first list, although lacking substantive commentary, did not have any value. Peter the Venerable was writing to a readership well acquainted with the typological symbolism of these heretical groups or individuals, above all Nicolas of Antioch.

The first group of heretics in the list is the Cataphrygians, founded by Montanus, a sect that included two prominent women named Prisca and Maximilla as prophetesses. These women were close associates of Montanus, and the Catholic community unanimously censured their prophetic utterances.⁵³ Peter's association of this group with Islam seems odd on the surface, since there is not an Islamic equivalent to the prophetic roles of Prisca and Maximilla. There is another association, however, between the Montanists (Cataphrygians) and Islam, which Peter the Venerable seemed to have intended. Montanus made the claim, according to his detractors, that God was proclaiming a "new revelation" that superseded even that given by the apostles. Muhammad, of course, made a similar claim for Islam, which, although having continuity with the Old and New Testament revelations, superseded all previous utterances of God. Muhammad, according to Peter the Venerable, was nothing more than a new-fangled Montanus.

The invocation of the prophetesses Prisca and Maximilla, the insane women [*feminis insanis*], added yet a further deliberate vicious insult against Islam. Through the *topoi* of Montanus and the prophetesses, Peter's major intention was to denounce the Islamic claim of

⁵¹ Irenaeus nostrae Lugduncensis Galliae famosus episcopus et martyr, in Peter the Venerable, *PL* 189:665. Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable*, 221.

⁵² Ad praecipuas diabolicas pravitatis pestes, quibus maxime Satanas Ecclesiam Dei inficere et velut robustioribus machinis subvertere conatus est, venio: Dico autem, Manichaeos, Arianos, Macedonianos, Sabellianos, Donatistas, Pelagianos, omniumque ultimos Nestorianos, et Eutichianos, in Peter the Venerable, *PL* 189:665. Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable*, 221.

⁵³ Peter the Venerable, *PL* 189:665. Ferreiro, "Jerome's polemic," 322-24.

possessing a revelation from God superior to that of the Jew or the Christian. The remainder of the heretics in the list represented in one way or another those who improperly divided the Trinity or distorted the relationship of the three persons of the Godhead, a central Christian doctrine rejected by Islam.

The second group of heretics is the one that is the most significant for Peter the Venerable: the Arians, Macedonians, Sabellians, Donatists, Pelagians, Nestorians, and Eutychians. Peter charged the Arians with dividing the Trinity, the Macedonians with the same, the Sabellians with confusing the unity of the Trinity, the Donatists with claiming to be the only true church, the Pelagians with relying on works not grace, and the Nestorians and Eutychians with denying the full divinity and humanity of Christ.⁵⁴ Similarly, Islam echoes the denial of the Trinity and the denial of the human-divine nature of Christ; it claims the Qur'an as a superior revelation, and it relies on works, to the exclusion of the sacrifice of Christ, for salvation. Peter identified Augustine and others as his principal sources to buttress the authority of his teaching.⁵⁵

Given the sources that Peter the Venerable had at hand, we must address the question about his deliberate omission of Simon. The answer, I am convinced, lies in what Simon Magus and Nicolas of Antioch came to signify as "types" of heretics in the high Middle Ages.

The pervasive image of Simon Magus as the originator of the sin of "Simony" in the Middle Ages is one that hardly lent itself to attack specifically Muhammad or Islam. It was a representation of Simon Magus used effectively by the Church to censure the buying and selling of ecclesiastical offices and Investiture. An alternate typological image established by Jerome and Vincent of Lérins of Simon Magus as founding a perpetual pseudo-apostolic succession—the antithesis of the true succession established by the apostles—was an image that did not persist prominently in the Middle Ages. The potential for its use was there, but Peter the Venerable did not avail himself of this *topos*. Since Simon Magus never figured as a central heretic in Trinitarian debates, his *topos* did not lend itself to Peter the Venerable's attack upon Islam's rejection of the Christian Trinity.

⁵⁴ Peter the Venerable, *PL* 189:665–67. Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable*, 37–41. John of Damascus identified an "Arian monk" named Bahira who foretold the coming of Muhammad, Sahas, *John of Damascus*, 73–74.

⁵⁵ *PL* 189:665–67. Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable*, 37–38.

The Nicolas of Antioch “type,” however, was a more suitable candidate for Peter the Venerable to use in denouncing Islam. Foremost, Nicolas provided an essential nexus for medieval polemicists between an ancient heresy—which according to Irenaeus began in the New Testament era—and Muhammad. By way of typology Peter the Venerable was able to position Islam, as it were, at odds with the true faith preached by the apostles. Peter the Venerable embraced the patristic belief that Nicolas of Antioch founded the Nicolaitans, which the Apostle John condemned in the Apocalypse. The challenge for Peter the Venerable was to establish a theological and historical nexus between Muhammad and the Nicolaitan heresy. Patristic teaching on the foundations of the Nicolaitans and contemporary medieval teaching about the origins of Islam provided Peter with the necessary tools to accomplish his goals.

Peter the Venerable, wanting to set the record straight about the origins of Islam, recounted the well-known story about the heretical Nestorian monk, Sergius. Sergius, after being expelled from the Church, traveled to Arabia where he met Muhammad and led him into error. Peter the Venerable, as Irenaeus before him, suggested a satanic succession of error by way of Nicolas to Sergius to Muhammad.⁵⁶ Alessandro D’Ancona, making use of little known manuscripts, had long ago demonstrated how Muhammad was associated directly with a sinister figure from apostolic times and one who had at one time moved in the inner circle of the apostles in Jerusalem. The tenth-century *Laurentian Codex* (XLVII, 27) mentions an Ocín whom the Sarracens call Muhammad. We also find the Ocín story in the eleventh-century “Papa Osius” text. A second thirteenth-century *Laurentian Codex* (XVI, 5) names a deacon Adocín, also called by the Sarracens Muhammad, but the text also recalls a Nicolas, one of the seven deacons at Jerusalem.⁵⁷ The most pervasive tradition Peter the Venerable used did not place Muhammad directly in the apos-

⁵⁶ “Dedit Satan successum errori and monachum haereticum pseudoprophetae conjunxit,” *Epistola*, 17, *PL* 189:341. Constable, *Letters*, II, 284. See also, A. Abel, “Bahīrā,” *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. 2nd ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960), 1:922–23. See Tolan, “Diabolical Heresy,” 359.

⁵⁷ D’Ancona, “La leggenda di Maometto,” 246–47. A study, edition, and translation of the “Papa Osius” text is in, K. B. Wolf, “The Earliest Latin Lives of Muhammad,” in *Conversion and Continuity*. Papers in Mediaeval Studies, 9, ed. M. Gervers and R. J. Bikhazi. (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1990), 89–101.

tolic period. Rather, Nicolas of Antioch took as a disciple an intermediary called Sergius, who in turn crossed paths with Muhammad in Arabia and led him to heresy. Sergius, among other things, led Muhammad into the errors of Nicolaitism as taught by his master, Nicolas of Antioch. Peter the Venerable blamed this apostate, heretical monk for founding the heresy of Islam through Muhammad. What follows in Peter's work is a lengthy refutation of the Islamic faith.⁵⁸ This maze of stories linking Muhammad, directly or indirectly, through a mediator had the common goal of identifying Muhammad's teachings with an early Christian heresy, in this case Nicolaitism.

Sergius served the purpose in this tradition as the nexus between the apostolic era—Nicolas of Antioch—and Muhammad. The medieval Church based this view on the Irenaeus tradition that Nicolas of Antioch had been counted among the seven deacons chosen by the apostles in Jerusalem, but one who subsequently apostatized. Nicolas had also founded the Nicolaitan sect, which in the long trajectory of its history became associated exclusively with sexual immorality. This view of Nicolaitism, whether applied to clerical marriage or Islam, was widely accepted in Peter the Venerable's time. A late medieval text cited by Sabellico (1463–1506), within the collection entitled *Enneades*, enumerates the heretical errors of Islam that corresponded to sects of the early Church. Sabellico charged that Muslims, "with the Sabellians deny the Trinity, with the Manichaeans divide the Godhead, they deny the equality of the Father and Son with Eunomius, with Macedonius they say the Holy Spirit is a creature, and with Nicolas they approve of having a multitude of women".⁵⁹

Peter the Venerable's invocation of Nicolaitism to attack Islam is exceptional rather than the norm in the medieval Church. Muhammad, as a latter day Nicolaitan, represented an apostate who once had the opportunity to know the truth, but chose rather to follow his unbridled pride into doctrinal error and sexual immorality. The association of Muhammad with doctrinal and moral error became a firmly established *topos* in the heresiological literature of the Church. Peter the Venerable was intentionally censuring the polygamous practices of Islam through Nicolas of Antioch.

⁵⁸ Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable*, 129–34. Cambier, *Embricon de Mayence*, 6–12.

⁵⁹ D'Ancona, "La leggenda di Maometto," 270–71.

The *Liber Nicholay* speaks of Nicolas and Muhammad as one and the same person, a viewpoint that represents a unique appropriation of the Nicolas "type" from the patristic era.⁶⁰ The anonymous writer made it a point to single out the erudition and education of Nicolas-Muhammad.⁶¹ The purpose of these statements was not to flatter the Prophet but rather to warn potential followers about how this eloquent smooth talking heretic used his knowledge to lead people astray. We have already seen that these views in *Liber Nicholay* were standard *topoi* in antiheretical works. Sulpicius Severus in the fourth century, for example, made similar comments about the erudite background of Priscillian of Avila to warn potential followers about the sinister intellectual abilities that he effectively used to deceive.⁶² Moreover, the *Liber Nicholay* managed to explain—irrespective of its ahistorical background—the heretical origins of Islam by placing Muhammad in the apostolic era through the figure of Nicolas of Antioch, a villain the Apostle John censured in the Apocalypse, as did Irenaeus.

The *Pisa Anonymous* reflects an equally well-known parallel, alternate tradition that espoused an intermediary between Nicolas and Muhammad. This version is congruent with the Sergius-Bahira legend accepted by Peter the Venerable. The Pisa account summarized the background of Nicolas proclaiming him an evil reprobate, one of the former seven deacons at Jerusalem, and one who like Judas betrayed the faith.⁶³ The intermediary, however, in this case is named Maurus, a disciple of Nicolas who subsequently became the teacher of Muhammad.⁶⁴ The *Pisa Anonymous*, similarly to the *Liber Nicholay*,

⁶⁰ Legimus in hystoriis romanorum quod nycolaus, qui Machometus dicitur, unus fuit de septem dyaconibus cardinalibus ecclesie romane, in Mancini, "Per lo studio," 327-28, note 4

⁶¹ Hic cum esset in gramatica, dyalectica et astronomia doctus ac in factis secularibus eruditus et omnes diversas linguas loqui sciret et necesse esset, in Ibid. See also D'Ancona, "La leggenda di Maometto," 278-79.

⁶² Sulpicius Severus, *Chronicon*, II, caps. 47-48, 50. Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, I (Vindobonae: Hoelder Pinchler Tempsky, 1866), 100-103.

⁶³ Fuit in diebus apostolorum vir nomine Nicolaus per omnia reprobis et male dictus: de septem tamen dyaconibus unus erat, sicut et Iudas traditor ex Christi discipulis unus exstiterat, in Mancini, "Per lo studio," 330. For Bahira as an "Arian" in John of Damascus see, Sahas, *John of Damascus*, 73-74 and 133.

⁶⁴ Non solum enim hec sed multas alias blasphemias et scandali verba de suo spurcissimo corde invenit. Et alios multos perditos quos habebat discipulos docuit, et sic adversus Catholicam ecclesiam diaboli malicia armavit. Siquidem inter ceteros sue malitiae discipulos insignis existerat unus nomine et rationaliter Maurus, in

highlighted the impressive intellectual abilities of Maurus that made him a dangerous teacher.⁶⁵

After a series of events Maurus finally crossed paths with Muhammad. While Maurus was at Rome, his master Nicolas was put on trial for heresy at a synod that found him guilty. Nicolas, imprisoned in a tower, eventually died of thirst and hunger. Soon after, Maurus found a boat and immediately sailed to Arabia, fearing for his own life. There he began to live the life of a hermit while growing intellectually in the errors of his master Nicolas. The anonymous editor was sure to mention that Maurus mastered the magical arts, too. At this crucial moment in the story the devil led Maurus to meet a young camel herder named Muhammad.⁶⁶

The similarities between this account and the apocryphal legends about Simon Magus are telling. Simon Magus and Nicolas perish at Rome and in settings involving towers or high places. The first pope, Simon Peter, vanquished Simon Magus. A synod at Rome tried, sentenced, and jailed Nicolas, all no doubt approved by the pope, an immediate successor of Peter. In this same vein, the Pisa legend alleged that Nicolas, before his fall from grace, succeeded—presumably by usurpation—Pope Clement I.⁶⁷ Nicolas, the teacher of Maurus, was according to the Pisa tradition an apostate antipope in opposition to the apostles. The narrative, while completely setting aside the patristic tradition of Nicolas as a successor of Simon Magus, succeeded through Maurus in providing the much needed mediator between the Nicolaitans and Muhammad.

Whether medieval writers portrayed Muhammad as a disciple of the Magus, as a Nicolas of Antioch, or even in a conflated identity, or linked through an intermediary—a Sergius, Bahira, Maurus—they achieved the common purpose of establishing the alleged heretical origins of Islam. Peter the Venerable, the *Liber Nicholay*, and the *Pisa Anonymous* linked the Islamic faith with specific early Christian anti-Trinitarian heresies to challenge strict Islamic monotheism, and

Mancini, "Per lo studio," 331. See also, D'Alverny, "Pierre le Vénérable," 165–66. Cambier, "L'épisode des taureaux," 229.

⁶⁵ Igitur predictus et maledictus Maurus cepit ilium studiose scientiam et licetaram omnium linguarum docere, in Mancini, "Per lo studio," 333.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 326–27.

⁶⁷ Hic post obitum beati Clementis pape, qui tercius a Petro beato rexit monarchiam et cathedram digne sedit apostolicam, in Ibid., 330.

through Nicolas of Antioch to censure its polygamy. In the case of Peter the Venerable, he more than the anonymous texts, made deeper associations with ancient heresies to demonstrate the doctrinal errors of Muhammad. These “historical” links with ancient heresies constructed by Embrico of Mainz, Peter the Venerable, and by anonymous authors undermined the arguments by Muslims that their faith contained the new revelation from God, which superseded that of the Jew and the Christian. Medieval writers, briefly speaking, also affirmed that there was not anything really new about Islam. Rather, it was a rehash of heresy long ago rejected, exposed, and proved false by the Church Fathers.

CHAPTER TWELVE

VINCENT FERRER'S *BEATI PETRI APOSTOLI*: CANONICAL AND APOCRYPHAL SOURCES IN POPULAR VERNACULAR PREACHING*

Vincent Ferrer was born in Valencia on January 23, 1350 and died at Vannes (Brittany) on April 5, 1419. He grew up in a devout family, and by 1367 had joined the Order of Preachers in Valencia. As a member of the Dominican Order, Vincent Ferrer underwent extensive academic and pastoral training from 1370 to 1378 in preparation for a life of scholarly teaching and preaching.¹ He was a teacher of logic at Lleida (1370–71), philosophy at Barcelona (1375), and he completed his formal training at Toulouse (1376–78). These academic activities reflect only one aspect of his intellectual background.

Vincent was also prior of his monastery at Valencia (1379–80), a lecturer in theology at the Cathedral of Valencia (1385–90), eventually being promoted to the chair of theology at Valencia. He became a prolific writer of works on ethics, theology, and philosophy. While he possessed intellectual abilities of the first order, Vincent is remembered primarily for his passionate preaching. His ability to preach in both Latin and Catalan (or Valencian as some note), coupled with his formal training, gave him the advantage of being able to deliver eloquent sermons in both languages and to wider audiences.

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¹ For a general background on the life and work of Vincent Ferrer consult, Pierre-Henri Fages, *Histoire de Saint Vincent Ferrer* (2 vols.; Louvain: Maison de la Bonne, 1901); idem, *Proces de la canonisation: Saint Vincent Ferrer* (Paris: Maison de la Bonne, 1904); Matthieu-Maxime Gorce, *Les bases de l'étude historique de Saint Vincent Ferrer* (Paris: Plon-Nourret, 1923); idem, *St. Vincent Ferrer (1350–1419)* (Paris: Plon-Nourret, 1935); J. M. de Garganta and Vicente Forcada, *Biografía y escritos de San Vicente Ferrer* (Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos 153; Madrid: Editora Católica, 1956); and J. M. de Garganta, "Vicente Ferrer," *Diccionario de Historia Eclesiástica de España* 2 (1972) 927–28. For his impact on Vannes see, José Rico de Estasen, "Las huellas de San Vicente Ferrer en Vannes," *Anales del Centro de Cultura Valenciana* 35 (1955) 33–37.

Vincent Ferrer flourished during the Great Schism and was a personal friend of Cardinal Pedro de Luna, who took the Avignonese side and later became Pope Benedict XIII at Avignon. In the early stages of the schism, Vincent was an apologist for the Avignon Pope Clement VII. Later, when Pedro de Luna became the new pope as Benedict XIII in 1395, Vincent Ferrer faithfully moved with him to the papal palace at Avignon where he became the pope's principal canonist and theologian. As the schism wore on, however, Ferrer became disillusioned with the pope and the ill effects of factionalism. These traumatic circumstances in part prompted Vincent in 1398 to leave Avignon. In that same year there occurred another event in Vincent's life that acted, in conjunction with his disaffection with the Avignon papacy, as a catalyst to move him in a new direction. At Avignon he became gravely ill, to the point of almost losing his life. On October 3, 1398, while he was recovering, Vincent claimed to have experienced a vision in which Christ called him to dedicate the rest of his life to itinerant preaching. Even so, he did not leave Avignon until November 22, 1399, and still with the full blessings of his friend Pope Benedict XIII. It appears that Vincent's departure from Avignon was more the result of religious conviction than politics. He traveled extensively throughout Spain, France, and Italy preaching incessantly in Catalan, also whenever necessary in Latin, and very likely in Castilian as well.² On account of the linguistic similarities among Catalan, Valencian, Provençal, and Occitan, Vincent's hearers would have sufficiently understood him wherever he went.

An impressive and extensive corpus of Vincent's Latin and Catalan sermons has survived and been edited by modern scholars. The manuscripts of the fifteenth-century Catalan sermons now reside in the archives of the See of Valencia.³ Recent historiography reveals a

² On Vincent's preaching in different languages see the extensive discussion in Fages, *Histoire de Saint Vincent*, 1. 159-69; idem, *Proces de la canonisation*, 410, 420, 422, 425, 429, and 431; Gorce, *Vincent Ferrer*, 182-83; and Gargautia y Forcada, *Biografía y escritos*, 120, 137; and for Latin preaching, 198. For Castilian preaching and sermons, Pedro M. Cátedra García, *Sermon, Sociedad y Literaturas en la Edad Media. San Vicente Ferrer en Castilla (1411-1412)* (Valladolid: Castilla-León, 1994). A discussion of Vincent's Latin and Catalan letters is in Adolfo Robles Sierra, "Correspondencia de San Vicente Ferrer," *Escritos del Vedat* 17 (1987) 173-216.

³ On the Catalan manuscripts of the sermons, see the authoritative edition by Joseph Sanchis Sivera, ed., *Sant Vicent Ferrer, Sermons* (2 vols.; Els Nostres Clàssics,

steadily growing interest in the life and writings of Vincent Ferrer by scholars appropriately focusing their research primarily on his sermons.⁴ Although this research is encouraging, he remains little known outside of medieval Spanish studies, and much work awaits the labors of future scholars. My purpose in this essay is to shed some light upon Vincent's sermon *Beati Petri Apostoli* as a way of understanding the theological arguments that he developed, particularly his creative interweaving of apocryphal and canonical sources concerning the apostle Peter, and to illuminate this interesting homiletical work as an especially instructive example of vernacular popular preaching in the fourteenth century.⁵

Vincent's sermons without exception have a distinctly moralistic tone to them, and this explains his constant call for sinners to repent, flee immorality, and demonstrate the love of Christ to those in need.⁶ Vincent followed in his sermons a consistent homiletical exegetical method prevalent in the Middle Ages: First, he presented what he called the literal or historical content, and then he offered the moral meaning of the events or person in question. In all cases, he issued a call to repentance. This is no less true of the sermon *Beati Petri Apostoli*, as we shall see below. Even though his intended audience was strictly speaking not academic, the sermons reveal on his part

Col·lecció B, 3-5; Barcelona: Barcino, 1932-34); and Gret Schib, ed., *Sant Vicent Ferrer, Sermons* (4 vols; Els Nostres Clàssics, Col·lecció B, 6-9; Barcelona: Barcino, 1975-88). Several studies have been done on the Catalan manuscripts; see R. Chabas, "Estudio sobre los sermones Valencianos de San Vicente Ferrer que se conservan en la biblioteca de la basílica metropolitana de Valencia," *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos* 6 (1902) 1-6 and 155-68; 7 (1902) 131-42 and 419-39; 8 (1903) 38-57, 111-26, 291-95; 9 (1903) 85-102; and F. Mateu y Llopis, "Observaciones paleográficas sobre los manuscritos de los sermones de San Vicente Ferrer de la Biblioteca de la Catedral de Valencia," *Anales del Centro de Cultura Valenciana* 35 (1955) 38-51.

⁴ Especially useful are the studies by David J. Viera, "A repeated image of light in the Sermons of Vincenç Ferrer," *Catalan Review* 2 (1987) 171-76; idem, "St. Vincent Ferrer's Catalan Sermon on St. Augustine," *Augustiniana* 38 (1988) 54-66; idem, "Vincent Ferrer's Sermon on Mary Magdalene: A Technique for Hagiographic Sermons," *Hispanífila* 101 (1991) 61-66; and idem, "El sermón de San Vicente Ferrer en la fiesta de Santo Domingo," *Escritos del Vedat* 23 (1993) 323-30. For a recent Congress dedicated to Vincent Ferrer, see *Saint Vincent Ferrer et le monde de son temps 1352-1469. Histoire et spiritualité*, June 10-12, 1994, Abbaye Saint Michel de Frigolet.

⁵ For the apocryphal legends of Peter see, "Actus Petri cum Simone," in Richard A. Lipsius and Maximilian Bonnet, eds., *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* (Leipzig: 1891) 1.1. 45-103; and "Passio sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli," *ibid.*, 118-77.

⁶ See the discussion in Garganta y Forcada, *Biografía y escritos*, 359-63 and 383-99.

an extensive knowledge of the Bible and of Patristic and Medieval writers. This is evidence of and a tribute to his extensive Dominican training.

In Vincent's sermon *Beati Petri Apostoli* regarding the life of St. Peter, we find apocryphal Christian material in the midst of scriptural sources. The frequent citation and trajectory of these second- and third-century "apocryphal" documents by the medieval church is only now beginning to be understood and studied seriously by the scholarly community.⁷ The Christian apocryphal documents, which the early church did not confuse with gnostic sources, presented a dilemma for the institutional church intent on establishing a New Testament canon of scripture.⁸ Most of the Christian apocrypha were never in the running for canonical status, contrary to the history of some gnostic documents. Since the apocrypha were not clearly at odds theologically with the emerging canon and not considered divinely inspired, they presented a somewhat ambiguous situation for the church. While Christian apocryphal documents are not lacking in theological content, they are not strictly speaking theological treatises. A good many are apocryphal acts of various apostles, and they seem to have been intended as historical supplements to the canonical Acts of the Apostles. The canonical Acts does not relate the fates of most of the apostles, and especially those of Peter and Paul.⁹ As long, then, as the contents of the apocryphal acts were not perceived as heretical and subversive, the door remained wide open for this material to find a place in the beliefs and traditions of the church.

⁷ See the studies that have appeared up to now in the journal *Apocrypha* (Brepols), the official journal of the "Association pour l'Étude de la Littérature Apocryphe Chrétienne," based at the University of Lausanne.

⁸ The early acceptance of Christian apocrypha by some Church Fathers confirms this point. The apocryphal encounters between Simon Magus and Simon Peter are uncritically joined together by Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* 1.23.2-4; Eusebius *Hist. eccl.* 2.1.10-12; 2.12.1; and 2.14.1, and Augustine *De haer.* 1, to name but a few.

⁹ One must set aside modern views regarding the authorship of 2 Timothy and 2 Peter, since such questions were not an issue for Vincent and the church of the fourteenth century. They understood 2 Tim 4:6-8, 9-13, 21 to attest to Paul's impending execution at Rome. Similarly, 2 Pet 1:13-15 testified to Peter's imminent execution, presumably at Rome. These are the last references about Peter and Paul in the canonical New Testament. I wish to thank my friend and colleague, New Testament Professor William L. Lane (Seattle Pacific University) for crucial insights on this matter.

The *Beati Petri Apostoli* sermon was written to be preached in one of the most significant feast days of the church calendar, and the apocryphal material used by Vincent Ferrer, therefore, experienced even wider diffusion among the laity.¹⁰ This is one of the few Catalan sermons in which Vincent extensively integrated apocryphal sources. There is also, incidentally, an extant Latin version of this sermon that omits entirely the apocryphal material on Simon Magus, but it does include that which relates Peter's inverted crucifixion at the hands of the emperor Nero. The difference in apocryphal content between both sermons suggests that Vincent Ferrer exercised a great deal of freedom in deciding when and when not to use extraneous apocryphal legends along with scriptural sources.¹¹ The convergence of canonical and apocryphal sources in this sermon is also convincing testimony of how noncontroversial apocryphal sources were and how they provided preachers like Vincent additional material absent from scriptural sources for their sermons.

Vincent scholarship has extensively debated the extent to which he used Catalan in his preaching. The belief by some that Vincent always preached only in Catalan, regardless of the linguistic background of his audience, is based mainly upon hagiographical embellishments in his *Vita*.¹² Even so, one must recall that speakers of Breton, Provençal, Occitan and other similar cognate languages would have understood his Catalan preaching. Previous scholars who insist on this point are themselves from Catalan-speaking regions, and their opinions tend to reflect modern Spanish regional nationalism more than the linguistic conditions of the fourteenth century.¹³ There is, however, no reason not to believe that he preached principally in

¹⁰ This sermon is in Sanchis Sivera, *Sermons*, 2. 45–54. For a discussion of Peter as a model of conversion in Vincent's sermons see José Anat Jares, *La predicación cristiana en la doctrina de San Vicente Ferrer (1350–1419)* (Astorga, 1963) 83–87, esp. 83–84.

¹¹ The Latin version is in Garganta y Forcada, *Biografía y escritos*, 603–10.

¹² There are only two references to this matter in Vincent's *Vita*. The first reports that he was understood by people in Castille, Normandy, Brittany, Piedmont, and Genoa even though he preached solely in Catalan (120). The second citation added that even some Greeks claimed that they heard him in their own tongue (137); in Garganta y Forcada, *Biografía y escritos*. See also Fages, *Procés de la canonisation*, 410, 420, 422, 425, 429, and 431. For a broader discussion of the languages of preaching see Giles Constable, "The Language of Preaching in the Twelfth Century," *Viator* 25 (1994) 131–52.

¹³ Such is the case with the remarks by Sanchis Sivera, *Sermons*. 1. 13–14.

Catalan. Catalan hagiographers very likely did not think, for example, that the average Breton audience would, under normal circumstances, understand sermons preached in Catalan; they claimed, therefore, that this constituted a miracle. This question, moreover, needs to be cast within the broader fourteenth-century linguistic context.

The era of Vincent Ferrer is a major turning point in late-medieval Europe for vernacular languages as modes of literary expression in both secular and ecclesiastical life. The employment of vernacular tongues by the Waldensians and Ramón Llull in earlier times was hardly the norm in a Latin-based church and culture. In the fourteenth-century, however, vernacular tongues received significant impetus by luminaries such as Dante, Chaucer, John Wyclif, and preachers like Vincent Ferrer. Broadly speaking, Vincent's insistence on preaching in Catalan only reinforces the pervasiveness of that language at the local level in fourteenth-century Catalonia and southern France. Linguists of Catalan have yet to determine the specific linguistic contributions to Catalan by preachers like Vincent Ferrer, a task well beyond the scope of this article. Contemporary scholars fail time and again to take into consideration the widespread plurilingualism that existed throughout the entire Middle Ages, owing to the numerous linguistic groups living in close proximity to each other.

That Vincent was conversant in both Latin and Catalan is certain, and one cannot rule out possible familiarity with Castilian and other Romance languages. His capacity to preach eloquently and fluently in both languages very likely contributed to the belief that his preaching accompanied a special "gift of tongues." I would argue that while fluency in two languages was not the norm in medieval culture, and, indeed, only a few had thorough fluency in two or more languages, there were many plurilingual people who possessed "survival" language abilities in several of the Romance languages. In the hagiographical retelling, Vincent's Catalan preaching was made intelligible to all by means of this "gift of languages" from the Holy Spirit.¹⁴ At the Dominican Church of San Esteban in Salamanca, the plateresque facade commemorates Vincent Ferrer's "gift" and shows him holding in his left hand a cluster of flames, symbolic of

¹⁴ The hagiographer even noted that there existed little difference between the Catalan and Valencian languages (120). The *Vita* identified the various languages as Romance ones, and strongly implied that this probably explains why so many people understood Vincent in their own "languages."

the Holy Spirit and the "gift of languages." (See Figure 1, opposite page.)

The "gift" attributed to Vincent Ferrer's preaching is not the "glossolalia" of 1 Corinthians 12:10 and 14:5, rather it is similar to that which was made manifest on the day of Pentecost:

They saw what seemed to be tongues of fire that separated and came to rest on each of them. All of them were filled with the Holy Spirit and began to speak in other tongues as the Spirit enabled them . . . each one heard them speaking in his own language.¹⁵

It is reported that when Vincent preached in Catalan, the Holy Spirit would supernaturally endow his audience with the ability to hear the message in their own native tongue. More telling, even Vincent's *Vita* casts an element of doubt on this miracle of languages by noting that there was disagreement among those who allegedly witnessed these miraculous events.¹⁶ Further doubts derive from the fact that in all of the references to Vincent's preaching to Jews and Muslims thus far discovered not once is there a miraculous manifestation of the Hebrew or Arab languages.¹⁷ The Pentecost "gift" attributed to Vincent Ferrer is not, moreover, unknown in hagiographic stories regarding preachers of the Middle Ages. This was more importantly a sign of divine election. This popular Vincent legend and his large corpus of Catalan sermons are indicative of the presence and rapid legitimization of vernacular languages in the life of the church that continued unabated from the fourteenth century onward. It is also an affirmation that Vincent did indeed preach more often than not in Catalan.

¹⁵ Acts 2:3-4, 6. Other references in the New Testament to speaking in tongues are in Mark 16:17 (biblical scholars believe this verse to be an addendum); Acts 10:46, 19:6; and 1 Cor 12:10; 14:5.

¹⁶ See, for example, *Vita* 137, which still insists on this matter, even after pointing out the inconsistency of the testimony.

¹⁷ The reference to Jews and Muslims in the *Vita* are at 144 and 146, for Castilla-Aragón; 171-72, for Salamanca-Zamora; 198-99, for Italy; and 205, for Catalonia (in Garganta y Forcada, *Biografía y escritos*). See further references in Fages, *Proces de la canonisation*, 421, 424-25, and 431. For Jews and Muslims, Joaquín Espin Rael, "Predicación de San Vicente Ferrer en Lorca," *Anales del Centro de Cultura Valenciana* 35 (1955) 16-19. For conversion of Jews specifically, consult Luis Batlle y Prats, "San Vicente Ferrer en Gerona," *Analecta sacra tarraconensia* 26 (1953) 145-50; and Francisca Vendrell, "La Actividad Proselitista de San Vicente Ferrer durante el reinado de Fernando I de Aragón," *Sefarad* 13 (1953) 87-104.

The thirtieth sermon of the Catalan homiliary entitled *Beati Petri Apostoli* appears within a group of manuscripts numbered 278 to 281 written in a fifteenth-century script.¹⁸ Vincent stated that he composed this sermon to be preached exclusively on the Feast Day of Peter and Paul, celebrated on June 29.¹⁹ While some preached about both apostles in one sermon, Vincent treated Peter and Paul respectively in separate sermons,²⁰ as was customary for medieval preachers. Vincent initiated his discourse by announcing that he intended to seek out the two meanings or understandings of Peter's life: the first being the literal (historical) and the second, the deeper moral sense containing the true substance of the sermon.²¹

Vincent opened the homily with a brief sketch of Peter's life, highlighting his election by Jesus to the apostolate with the added emphasis of being singled out as the chief apostle. He additionally explained that Peter received two names from Jesus: Simon and Peter. When Jesus decided to establish Simon as "vicar" he endowed him with

¹⁸ Consult Sanchis Sivera, *Sermons*, 2. 45-54 for the Catalan text and, in general, Mateu y Llopis, "Observaciones paleográficas," 38-51.

¹⁹ "Aquesta Festa present és appellada la festa de sent Pere e de sent Pau, per ço com abduys moriren en tal dia com huy, en la ciutat de Roma, per l'emperador Neró" (Sanchis Sivera, *Sermons*, 2. 45).

²⁰ For select sermons that combine both apostles see Maximus of Turin, who includes apocryphal material, PL 57. 391-408; Raban Maur in *Homilia* 27 (PL 110: 52-54) integrates the fall of Simon Magus at 53; Aelfric's *Passio apostolorum Petri et Pauli* (in Benjamin Thorpe, ed., *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, [2 vols.; London: Aelfric Society, 1844] 1. 364-85) integrates the apocryphal stories; the *Blickling Homily* 15, "Spel be Petrus and Paulus," (in R. Morris, ed., *The Blickling Homilies of the Tenth Century* [London: Trübner, 1880] 170-93) contains abundant apocryphal material; Hildebert of Tours, in *Sermons de Sanctis - In Festo SS. Petri et Pauli* (PL 171. 658-71) wrote three sermons wherein Simon Magus is not mentioned. Peter Blensis wrote two sermons to the apostles. In the first, he does not use apocrypha, while in the second there is a specific reference to the fall of Simon Magus, respectively in *Sermo* 28 and *Sermo* 29 (PL 207. 644-48, 648-50). Radulphus Ardentis appends to the end of his sermon on Peter the inverted crucifixion of the apostle (*Sermo* 23, PL 155. 1392). The Irish *Leabhar Breac* includes detailed canonical and apocryphal material (in Robert Atkinson, ed., *The Passions and the Homilies from Leabhar Breac* [Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1887] 86-95; ET, 329-39). Undoubtedly the source most responsible for disseminating the canonical and apocryphal stories of Peter and Paul is the *Golden Legend* of Jacobus of Voragine. For the Latin text consult, Theodor Graesse, ed., *Jacobi a Voragine Legenda Aurea* (1850; reprinted Osnabrück: Zeller, 1965) 368-79. For a recent translation, see William Granger Ryan, *The Golden Legend: Reading on the Saints*. (2 vols.; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992) 1. 340-50.

²¹ "Aquesta paraula proposada ha dos enteniments: lo primer és literal, e serà quasi per introducció de la matèria; lo segon serà moral, per prosecució del sermó" (Sanchis Sivera, *Sermons*, 2. 45).

the name Peter, the Rock,²² and, Vincent maintained, this is why it became customary to change the pope's baptismal name at his election.²³ Vincent Ferrer believed that the true spiritual significance of Peter's life was contained in four identifiable virtues worthy of emulation: obedience, penance, pure intent (of heart), and long-suffering. He presented four brief major historical (literal) incidents from Peter's life, as found in canonical and apocryphal accounts, each accompanied by an exposition of their moral meaning (or virtue) and practical application.

Peter's first virtue, presumably to be understood as the one upon which the other three hinge, is unequivocal obedience to the call of Christ. Vincent retold how Christ challenged the fishermen Peter and Andrew to abandon their trade and become fishers of men.²⁴ He commenced his exegesis with a lucid maritime metaphor by explaining that in the ocean there are fish to catch, great and small, which he likened respectively to people of higher and lower social standing.²⁵ The large fish represents a converted rich man or even a high-born, learned woman, which is comparable to catching a dolphin and either an eel or a tuna.²⁶ When a commoner (worker), however, is converted as a result of a sermon, it is like having caught a barbel (a river fish) or a sardine.²⁷ As for the fishermen (preachers), Vincent warned that Jesus Christ will demand of them a full accounting of the quantity of converted souls on Judgment Day, and one could infer the quality of the fish (converts) caught.²⁸ The good fish Vincent defined as those who have forsaken sin and practice penance as a result of God having touched their hearts and of their having been called to a new life of unswerving obedience.²⁹ Peter and Andrew

²² "Mas, quan Jesuchrist lo volgué fer vicari, appella 'l Pere, dient: "Ego dico tibi Symoni, que axi te appelles ara, mas d'ací avant te appellaràs Pere" (ibid.).

²³ "E per ço, de aquest test isqué la costuma en cristiandat, que quan volen elegir papa, per bon nom que haja, li muden lo nom" (ibid., 45-46).

²⁴ Matt 4:18-20.

²⁵ "E en la mar ha molts pexos. grans e pochs" (Sanchis Sivera, *Sermons*, 2. 46).

²⁶ "Quan hun hom rich de vosaltres se converteix . . . 'Oo, hun peix havem pres, hun delfi . . . se converteix una gran dona, que vol leixar les vanitats . . .' Oo, una anguila, o una tonyina havem presa!" (ibid.).

²⁷ "E quan en lo sermó se converteix hun llaurador, 'Oo, hun sparrelló havem pres! Oo, una sardineteta havem presa!" (ibid., 46-47).

²⁸ "Senyor Jesuchrist, bé-us plau a vós aquest peix; e de aquests pexos demanarà Jesuchrist als preycadors al dia del juhi" (ibid., 47).

²⁹ "Qui són en peccat se convertexen, o volen fer penitència, que Déus los toque

emerge as model fishermen (preachers), selfless and willing to obey and to proclaim Christ throughout the world.

Vincent continued with his maritime metaphor by calling the world a *mare magnum* upon which a boat navigates in all directions. Upon this ocean a beautiful boat sails with three decks (*cubertes*), which correspond to the three types of preachers who propagate the message of Christ across the oceans.³⁰ The word *cubertes* means literally not only a "covering" (and here specifically a ship's deck); it has the added connotation of being constantly on the move, and it is this latter sense that befits what Vincent apparently wanted to convey.³¹ This ship is the bark of Peter, symbolizing the one apostolic Catholic Roman Church.

The first navigators (*cuberta*) are the religious in monasteries who leave their communities only out of necessity as spiritual vagabonds to preach in the cities and roadways.³² The second *cuberta* are merchants—the presbyters—who transport a precious cargo, the holy sacraments of the church.³³ The third *cuberta* are navigators traveling freely without any direct ecclesiastical restraints and whom Vincent called the "laborers." It is very likely that here Vincent was identifying the active preaching role of the laity.³⁴

Vincent Ferrer admonished all three *cubertes* of preachers to follow Christ daily and at the end of each week to observe the Sabbath by shunning worldly entertainments. To buttress his admonition, Vincent cited Numbers 15, which forbids any violation of the Sabbath, and he additionally censured any work not related to the church as breaking (*trencar*) the Sabbath. "These notorious violators," Vincent warned in a veiled allusion to the devil and his demons, "are worthy to be thrown to the wolves."³⁵ Lastly, the three *cubertes* have one

al cor... Senyor tu nos has appellats; nosaltres som prests a vostre manament" (ibid.).

³⁰ "Sapiau que aquest món és appellat 'mare magnum'; axí com en la mar van las naus, axí en la mar de aquest món navegue una molt bella de tres cubertes" (ibid.).

³¹ A full linguistic explanation is in Antoni Ma. Alcover and Francesc de B. Moll, eds., *Diccionari Català-Valencià-Balear* (Mallorca: Alcover, 1930-1969) 3. 223.

³² "E no deuen exir del monestir sinó per gran necessitat. E ells, què fan? E per ciutat, e per camins, ça e lla vagabunts" (Sanchis Sivera, *Sermons*, 2. 47).

³³ "Ès allí on estan les mercaderies, e són los preveres qui han les mercaderies precioses ço és, los sants sagraments de la Església" (ibid.).

³⁴ "Ès allí on estan aquells qui naveguen et corren, e són los llauradors, e ls altres que treballen" (ibid.).

³⁵ "E ara, aquell qui porte llenya, negociant temporalment en lo dia de la festa,

common defining characteristic identified by Vincent as the first or principal Christian virtue (*primera virtut*), obedience to Christ.

Peter's second virtue is his repentance from sin, which for Vincent held two deeper meanings. The first signifies his unquestioned obedience, and the second reflects Peter's genuine sorrow for sinful acts committed (*ponens triticia*). Vincent expounded upon the latter interpretation of Peter's repentance by emphasizing his denial of Christ the night before the Passion. Vincent identified the three sins Peter committed that night: (1) when he denied that he was Peter, a disciple of Christ; (2) when he denied being a companion of Christ; and (3) when he denied being present in the garden of Gethsemane during Christ's arrest. Vincent emphasized that in the gospels it is during this series of rejections that Peter is called Simon,³⁶ and that Peter shed genuine tears of repentance for his triple denial of Christ. On the moral question, Vincent next asked rhetorically but no less passionately, "And was such a great penance needed for those sins?"³⁷ He affirmed this with a sober warning: If Peter had died in such a state of denial without repentance, he most assuredly would have been in danger of eternal damnation. Similarly, believers living out their earthly lives in denial of Christ, by their constant preoccupation with the world, run the risk of facing the same fate. Vincent quoted Leviticus 25 and Isaiah 52 as proof texts to highlight the gravity of the consequences awaiting the ingrate. He does, nevertheless, manage to end this section of the sermon on a positive note. Peter performed adequate repentance for his three denials, and he obtained God's grace and forgiveness. Vincent identified these as "the second virtue" ("*E veus la 2a virtut*"). The two virtues expounded above demonstrate the radical outcomes of Peter's initial obedience (virtue one), and his subsequent denial and repentance (virtue two), that is, his total transformation and commitment to Christ.

We arrive now at the halfway point of the sermon, where there is a decided transition by Vincent of the sources that he employed to describe the last two virtues of Peter's life. In his exegesis of virtues one and two described above, Vincent utilized exclusively the canon-

no irenque notòriament la festa? . . . 'Al lop! Al lop!'" (ibid., 48). New Testament references to wolves are in Matt 7:15; 10:16; John 10:12; and Acts 20:29.

³⁶ "E per ço lo appelle: 'Simon ponens tristiciam'" (Sanchis Sivera, *Sermons*, 2. 49).

³⁷ "E tan gran penitència era a ell necessària per aquells peccats?" (ibid., 49 50).

ical New Testament. Now, for the remainder of the sermon he turned wholly to apocryphal Christian legends. It is prudent to mention that for Vincent and his audience there would have been no perceived "transition" between canonical and apocryphal sources. What was undoubtedly more important to him and his audience are the four virtues of Peter's life.

Vincent called Peter's third virtue "purity of heart," or "right intention" (*dreta intenció*), and it is made manifest by the apostle's decision to do and proclaim everything for the glory of God (*tot o fahye per honor de Déu*). Peter, once the cowardly disciple, became the incessant and fearless preacher, traveling throughout the world seeking to increase the honor given to God by men and women.³⁸ It is at this juncture that Vincent Ferrer introduced in the sermon apocryphal Christian legends about Peter and Simon Magus.

The anonymous writers of the *Acts of Peter* and the *Passion of Peter and Paul* had as one of their goals filling in the historical gaps in the canonical Acts of the Apostles regarding the apostles Peter and Paul. The Acts of the Apostles does not relate, among many other things, the ultimate fates of Peter, Simon Magus, and Paul. Acts 8:9–24 reports the first encounter between Peter and John with Simon Magus; the apostle Paul does not have any role whatsoever in this incident. Simon Magus's offer to buy the power of the Holy Spirit from the apostles (later a sin called "simony") met with strong rebuke from Peter, who warned the magician, "May your money perish with you, because you thought you could buy the gift of God with money." And, "Repent of this wickedness and pray to the Lord. Perhaps he will forgive you for having such a thought in your heart."³⁹ What is left uncertain in Acts is whether Simon Magus heeded Peter's exhortation to abandon such wicked intentions or whether he continued in his dastardly ways. For patristic and medieval exegetes no doubt existed that Simon Magus ignored Peter's warning and continued to challenge the authority of the apostles. Simon Magus, consequently, was transformed into a type of the hopeless reprobate, always in direct opposition to the apostles, and especially against

³⁸ "E veus com: ell anave preyquan per lo món, de regne en regne, de ciutat en ciutat, de vila en vila, de castell en castell, procurant la honor de Déu" (ibid., 50–51).

³⁹ Acts 8:20, 22.

Peter. The *Acts of Peter* and the *Passion* were the principal sources utilized by biblical interpreters in the patristic and medieval church to perpetuate this negative image of Simon Magus.⁴⁰

Whereas Vincent Ferrer was no exception among medieval exegetes when he decided to integrate the apocryphal Christian material on Simon Magus and Simon Peter, he did so to achieve specific goals in the homily. In the apocryphal account of the *Passion*, Peter and Paul together encounter Simon Magus in Rome and are the focus of attention throughout. The apostle John, who does appear with Peter in the Acts of the Apostles and was later associated with Ephesus in Asia Minor, is entirely omitted. The Feast Day of Peter and Paul, one that acquired a prominent place in the liturgical calendar, retold the lives of these apostles, usually with a creative combination of canonical and apocryphal stories.

Why Vincent chose to utilize this particular apocryphal legend featuring an obdurate Simon Magus is explained by his overall aims in this section of the homily. Peter is presented by Vincent as the model of "purity of heart." As a radical contrast of this virtue Vincent turned to the apocryphal version of Simon Magus, which portrays him as completely lacking any purity of heart. To be sure, Acts presents a similar lack of pure intention by Simon Magus but leaves the reader to speculate as to whether Simon Magus ever repented or continued unrepentant. Desiring to create two antithetical portraits, the one of Peter's purity of heart and the other of Simon Magus as the hopeless reprobate, Vincent could not have done so by relying only on the biblical text.⁴¹

Vincent Ferrer summarized the lengthier apocryphal account to place special emphasis on Simon Magus's magical powers. Through enchantments and sorceries, Simon Magus gathered a sizable group of faithful followers at Rome that included the notorious emperor Nero. While Peter was preaching at Antioch, he received the news about Simon's deceptions, and he became so scandalized that he set

⁴⁰ See the medieval sources cited in note 20 above.

⁴¹ There is a second reprobate image of Simon Magus in Vincent Ferrer: "Some who begin the good life later leave it. That is how it was with Simon Magus, who began the apostolic life and, when the fulfillment of time came, he left it." ("Après, alguns deffallen algunes vegades per malícia, qui comencen bona vida, après lex-enla, axi com feu, Simon Magus, qui començà vida apostolical, e quan vench a cap de temps lexà—la," *Sermon* 34); "Feria VI (Post dominicam II Post Trinitatem)" (Sanchis Sivera, *Sermons*, 2. 80).

off at once to Rome to confront the magician and rescue the spell-bound populace. Vincent Ferrer, without any specificity, interjected into the sermon that Peter recognized the "great" sin Simon Magus had committed, namely, selfish pride, an impure heart, and vain-glory.⁴² This revelation concerning Simon's true character became the principal catalyst that prompted Peter to go after the Magus.⁴³

Once Peter arrived in Rome he straightaway performed numerous miracles and preached unceasingly until the magic spell of the magician was broken. The liberated people of Rome soon realized they had been under the deception of a false enchanter and immediately abandoned Simon Magus and followed Simon Peter.⁴⁴ A noteworthy and important detail in the apocryphal tradition is that Nero was not included among the throngs of "liberated" people, since he and Simon Magus remained unrepentant reprobates. Simon Magus, not so easily dissuaded by Peter's initial missionary success, proceeded to address the large crowd now following the apostle in a last ditch attempt to win them all back. He denounced Peter: "You preach against me, and now I will demonstrate to you that I am a son of God."⁴⁵ Suddenly, Simon Magus magically flew upward into the air and filled the crowd and even Nero with amazement. Vincent Ferrer observed that the Holy Spirit granted Peter the spiritual insight to "see" the true source of Simon Magus's aerial display, a pair of demons invisible to everyone else acting as wings suspended the magician in the air.⁴⁶ Armed with this spiritual insight, Peter dropped to his knees and began fervently to invoke God to drive away the demons so as to reveal Simon Magus's deception. At once, the demons were driven away by Peter's prayers, causing Simon Magus to fall from the sky and slam onto the pavement to his death as the crowd looked on in astonishment. Vincent added that Simon's soul perished along with the demons.⁴⁷ The contrasting images of pride

⁴² "E veus que sent Pere, vehent lo gran pecat" (Sanchis Sivera, *Sermons*, 2. 51).

⁴³ "In the city [Rome] was the enchanter Simon Magus, they told him [Peter] while he was in Antioch; so finally Simon Peter preached against him." ("anà a la ciutat on ere aquell encantador Simon Magus, e dehyen-li Anthiochia, e, finalment, sent Pere preycave contra ell" (ibid.).

⁴⁴ "E sent Pere preycave contra aquell, e finalment, per la vida que vehyen e los miracles que fahye, lo poble conexie que aquell ere encantador" (ibid.).

⁴⁵ "Tu preyques contra mi; ara yo vull mostrar que só fill de Déu" (ibid.).

⁴⁶ "... e axí fón, e los dimonis, invisibles, portaven-lo per l'ayre. E sent Pere vehye los dimonis" (ibid.).

⁴⁷ "E los dimonis, forçats, tantost lo lexaren, e caygué en terra, e partí-li's lo cap

and humility are wonderfully juxtaposed by Vincent Ferrer. Simon Magus's pretentious aerial acrobatics were meant by the writer to be a mocking and prideful attempt to imitate God's power, while Peter, on his knees beseeching God to effect the conversion of the people, is the perfect example of humility.⁴⁸

Vincent Ferrer, when expounding on the moral meaning of this apocryphal legend, quotes the apostle Paul, and this is the only occasion in the entire sermon in which the apostle is mentioned. Vincent prefaced the Pauline quotation with a reminder to believers that God is the only true source of all spiritual and material sustenance, and because of this they should never turn to any diviners, magicians, or sorcerers.⁴⁹ The people who had turned to Simon Magus for their spiritual and material needs were guilty of scorning God's generosity, truth, and grace. In spite of appearances, Simon Magus's magical powers were nothing more than the demonic manifestation of the Evil One, leading eventually without exception to bodily and spiritual destruction. Nothing could exemplify the destructive consequences of this behavior better than the fate of Simon Magus.

Vincent identified Peter's hard or painful passion as his fourth virtue (*dura passió*) which is derived from his name Barjona, meaning "son of a dove" (*fill de coloma*). Etymologists of the Catalan language point out that in medieval Christian religious texts doves and crows, derived and adapted from Hebrew etymology, oftentimes symbolized the death of Christ or even a martyr.⁵⁰ The final section of the sermon has as its major subject the martyrdom by crucifixion of Peter. Vincent called Peter's death a "sweet sacrifice," and he explained that in antiquity (in the narratives of the Old Testament) it was symbolically represented by the sacrifice of a dove.⁵¹ For

per mig e mori, e l'ànima anà ab.C [cent] M [mil]. dimonis" (ibid.). This story became the most widely portrayed in medieval art. There are many examples of this image across the centuries. See the preliminary remarks in Alberto Ferreiro, "Simon Magus: The Patristic-Medieval Traditions and Historiography," *Apocrypha* 7 (1996) 147–65. In the summer of 1992, after consulting the *Princeton Index of Christian Art* at UCLA, along with other sources elsewhere, I have located about fifty images.

⁴⁸ "He, Senyor! E mostrat hi miracle per honor vostra, per tal que's convertesque lo poble" (ibid.).

⁴⁹ "Que la vullau colre e tenir e demanar a Déu vostres necessitats, e nou vullau anar a adevins" (ibid., 51–52).

⁵⁰ See Alcover and Moll, *Diccionari*, 3. 266.

⁵¹ "E antigament la coloma era sacrifici molt plaent, 'sacrificium suauissimum'" (Sanchis Sivera, *Sermons*, 2. 52).

Vincent, Peter's crucifixion, resembles a sacrificial dove—the symbol of peace—and as such it also became a sweet sacrifice rising up to God (*in odore suauissimo*). This moving tale about the martyrdom of Peter, which became over time deeply ingrained in the collective memory of the church, is inspired by apocryphal Christian texts, and these events supplied what the canonical Acts of the Apostles obviously failed to report.⁵²

Vincent Ferrer related that while Peter was at Rome, he preached against lust, but even more vehemently against fornication.⁵³ The prefect of Rome (Agrippa) had many friends who, as a result of Peter's sermons, were converted. As a demonstration of repentance they immediately dismissed their concubines and even refused to return to the house of the prefect. The prefect of Rome interpreted their actions as a personal affront. Agrippa promptly sent out a servant to ascertain who was responsible for convincing his friends to abandon their concubines. When the servant returned, he told Agrippa that the apostle Peter was the culprit leading his friends astray. At once, an angry Agrippa cried out, "So this is the one who has done this to me? I will get even with him, I will take his life."⁵⁴ Agrippa, with the full support of Nero, ordered the immediate arrest and imprisonment of Peter. A group of Christians went to visit Peter in prison to urge him to escape, but the apostle responded, "My Lord Jesus Christ, when the night of his Passion arrived, did not choose to run away."⁵⁵ The Christians, undeterred, continued to press him to flee because what they feared the most was to be left leaderless.⁵⁶ Peter remained unmoved. Insofar as the sources are concerned,

⁵² At the "*Colloque international sur la littérature apocryphe chrétienne*," which convened March 22–25, 1995, at the Universities of Lausanne and Geneva, Russian scholar Constantine I. Logachev told how, in the facade of a building constructed under the orders of Peter the Great, the scene of Simon Magus falling from heaven is dramatically captured. In the relief, Peter the Great is in the place of the apostle Peter, and the king of Sweden is Simon Magus. Professor Logachev went on to describe how tour guides present the scene as if it were right out of the pages of the New Testament. I would add that in numerous altar pieces in chapels and churches dedicated to St. Peter across Europe, the canonical and apocryphal scenes of Peter's life often appear side by side.

⁵³ "Sapiats que sent Pere preycave contra hun pecat de luxúria, specialment contra peccat de fornicació" (Sanchis Sivera, *Sermons*, 2. 52).

⁵⁴ "Oo! E açó ha fet a mi? Yo li'n faré altra; yo li tolré la vida" (ibid.).

⁵⁵ "Mon senyor Jesuchrist, qua vench en la nit de la Passió no volgué fogir" (ibid.).

⁵⁶ "Com romandrem nosaltres sens cap, si vós moriu?" (ibid.).

Vincent borrowed directly from the account in the *Acts of Peter* regarding the events leading up to the arrest of Peter. A close reading of the account in the *Passion* and in the medieval *Golden Legend* by Jacobus of Voragine reveals that Vincent did not rely heavily on these two sources for this portion of the sermon. While the *Passion* makes no mention of the concubines, the *Golden Legend* makes just a scant reference to the women as a source of Agrippa's anger toward Peter.⁵⁷

Meanwhile, as Peter awaited execution in prison, he had a vision from God that revealed his upcoming martyrdom. In the vision Peter saw Jesus carrying a cross, which moved the apostle to cry out, "We adore you Christ and offer blessings to you, because through the holy cross you redeemed the world."⁵⁸ Vincent here used an ancient antiphon for the feast of the Holy Cross, which later came to be used in the devotions of the Stations of the Cross as the opening verse of each station. Then he cites the legend (which came to be known as the *Quo Vadis, Domine?*) in which Peter further inquired of Jesus, "Where are you going?" And Jesus responded, "I was crucified in Jerusalem and want to be crucified again in Rome, and then he disappeared."⁵⁹ At that moment Peter understood that while Jesus died to save humankind, he himself would die to inspire the Christians to persevere at Rome. Peter was at last ushered into the presence of Nero to receive formally the death penalty. Having been sentenced, he was escorted to the execution site without further delay.⁶⁰

When Peter and his executioners arrived at the site, the apostle asked of them a final petition, "I beg of you not to crucify me upright; rather, do it upside down,"⁶¹ and they, out of mercy, granted his wish. As Peter was dying on the cross a multitude of angels

⁵⁷ Ibid. For the *Passio* text see, Lipsius and Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum*, 1.1. 169. The *Golden Legend* reads, "Cui dixit: tunc es ille, qui in plebibus et mulierculis, quas a toro vovorum separas, gloriaris?" ("Agrippa said to him: 'So you are the one who glories among the common people and the little women whom you wean from their husbands' beds!"). For the Latin, see Graesse, *Legenda Aurea*, 374; and for the English translation, see Ryan, *Golden Legend*, 345.

⁵⁸ "Adoramus te, Christe, et benedicimus tibi, quia per sanctam crucem tuam redimisti mundum" (Sanchis Sivera, *Sermons*, 2. 53).

⁵⁹ "Yo fuy crucificat en Jerusalem, e vull ésser crucificat altre vegada en Roma, e desaparech" (ibid.).

⁶⁰ "Finalment, ell donà sentència que fos crucificat, e portaren-lo al loch on devia ésser crucificat" (ibid.).

⁶¹ "Ara yo vos prech que no-m crucifiqueu ab lo cap alt, mas de cap avall"

accompanying Jesus appeared to the apostle to encourage him in this final trial of obedience. Peter asked Jesus to preserve in the Christian faith the children that he and his wife had dedicated to the church at baptism.⁶² Peter in his final words commended his soul and spirit to Jesus, and a group of saints descended from heaven to carry the apostle upward to his celestial resting place.⁶³ Vincent told his audience that Peter, as a *fill de coloma*, through his martyrdom offered up a very fragrant sacrifice (like incense) to Jesus Christ.⁶⁴

Morally speaking, both crucifixions exemplify purity of heart and unwavering conviction to do God's will. Vincent Ferrer made certain to emphasize that only Jesus's cross had sufficient virtue to offer redemption and grace; Peter's cross, on the other hand, served solely as a model of obedience for Christians to imitate.⁶⁵

The sermon relating the life and virtues of Peter is divided evenly by Vincent Ferrer into four parts. For parts one and two, he utilized canonical texts only, whereas for parts three and four he turned to Christian apocryphal material. He apparently did not feel compelled at any point in the homily to specify any of the Christian apocryphal sources of these distinct episodes as he did with the canonical. An educated, well-read Dominican like Vincent was undoubtedly fully aware of the provenance of these Christian apocryphal sources. He and his audience were obviously at ease with integrating into sermons the apocryphal legends, just as earlier homilists of the patristic era had done. The apocryphal material was more exciting than the canonical, and it offered up clearer images of Peter as symbol of the church and Simon Magus as cohort of the Evil One. The fall of Simon Magus and the crucifixion of Peter, as found in the *Acts of Peter and Passion*, became two of the most ubiquitous stories in patristic and medieval culture, as evidenced by the abundant examples in literature and art that have survived. Preachers like Vincent played a crucial role in the fourteenth century in propagating and synthesizing with canonical material these apocryphal

⁶² "E sent Pere recomanà-li sos fills que havie engendrat de la sua sposa en la font del baptisme, e que-ls volgués conservar en la fe christiana e bona vida" (ibid.).

⁶³ "E prengué-la en les sucs mans santes, e axí pujaren alt al cel" (ibid.).

⁶⁴ "E veus com sent Pere fo fill de coloma, e fo sacrifici molt odoriferant a Jesuchrist" (ibid.).

⁶⁵ "Car no ha virtut, mas aquella de Jesuchrist" (ibid.).

legends concerning the apostle Peter. As a consequence, the homiletical combining of these texts not only penetrated deeply into the popular beliefs of the church, but they also filled in aspects of the latter lives of the apostles not found in the scriptural sources.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

POPE CLEMENT I, MARTIN OF TOURS AND SIMON MAGUS IN THE CATHEDRAL OF LEÓN, SPAIN*

The Cathedral of León, Spain is recognized as the only one that is closest to the pure French Gothic in the entire Iberian Peninsula, and it also boasts of having most of its original medieval windows intact (figure 1, Gómez Rascón, p. 4). Its geographical location on the main northern road to Santiago de Compostela explains in part the strong French influence on this cathedral. Northern Spain is noted for having significant French influences throughout the entire Middle Ages; most notably the proliferation of the veneration of St. Martin of Tours that began as early as the middle of the sixth century in Galicia. The focus of this study, however, is the ambulatory chapel dedicated to the 'martyr' St. Pope Clement I and more specifically its windows and their content. The windows contain images of papal, Gallic, and Christian Apocrypha themes: Pope Clement I, third successor to Peter in Rome, St. Martin of Tours—the apostle to Gaul—, and Simon Magus the notorious 'father' of all heresy, anti-apostle, and arch-enemy of Peter. This is the only artistic representation of Simon Magus where we find all three together and where Peter is absent in an explicit way. Fundamental questions require investigation: One, why have these three been placed in this chapel together? Second, what do each of them represent and what message are they intended to convey? Third, what is the identity of the textual sources that inspired those who designed the windows?

Under King Ordoño II (914–924), according to the earliest written source, a small Romanesque church was built on the site where the Cathedral of León now stands. He was buried at that site in 924. The church from about 1065 to 1073 lay practically in ruins after the advances and devastating effects of Al-Mansur who ruled

* All of the photographs are reproduced with permission from Imagen M. A. S. León, Spain. They are in the book by Máximo Gómez Rascón. *Catedral de León. Las Vidrieras. El Simbolismo de la Luz* (León, 2000).

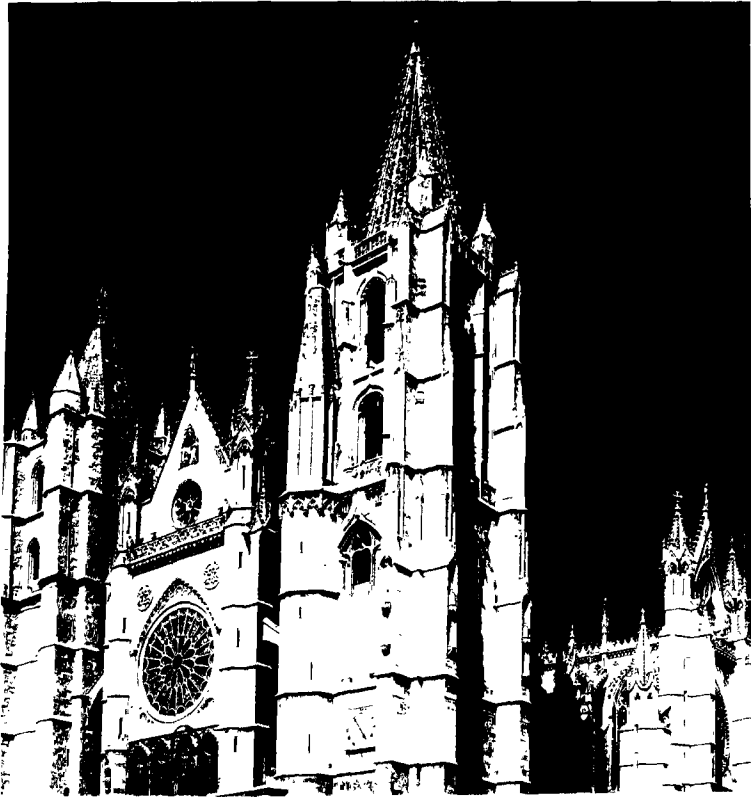


Fig. 1

from (976–1002). If any major additions were made we have no notice of them in the sources up until the twelfth century. Nevertheless, as happened with so many earlier modest structures such as in Santiago de Compostela, in time the original was replaced with a much larger and grandiose building. Major new construction occurred in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries notably under King Alfonso IX (1188–1230) who in 1197 married Doña Berenguela. These two dedicated themselves to restoring or replacing numerous churches in their kingdom.¹ This activity was part of the larger effort to re-

¹ M. Gómez Moreno, *Catálogo Monumental de la provincia de León* 2nd edición (León, 1979), p. 219. For the archival material on the cathedral see, J. M. Ruiz Asencio, *Colección documental de la Catedral de León*. Vol. 8 (León, 1990).

Christianize the territories that the Christians were now reconquering from the Muslim invaders. At that time under Bishop Manrique of León the foundations were laid to build the Gothic cathedral. Moreover, the arrival of a significant presence of Franciscans and Dominicans to León brought greater support and enthusiasm for its continued expansion. In a local synod in Madrid that convened in November of 1258 an indulgence was granted to those who participated in the ongoing construction of the cathedral. Alfonso X, 'El Sabio' (1252–1284) dedicated his political clout and financial resources to advance this enterprise in 1259 when he ordered the construction of two chapels. It was between the reigns of Alfonso X and Sancho IV (1054–1076) that the impressive windows were added using mainly French artisans.² Many of the original windows are preserved to this day; however, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries many were replaced having been lost in accidents and in some cases new ones were added. The windows, for example, of the chapel of Pope Clement I that interest us here date primarily from the late fifteenth century. In the end, all of these efforts succeeded and the city of León with its grand cathedral on the road to Santiago de Compostela came to occupy a prestigious place in the history of that region and of medieval pilgrimage. In the subsequent centuries there were fires and other calamities but in every instance the resources were found to restore the cathedral. At every stage the French influence whether political, religious, or financial was always present. Previous studies on the cathedral have noted direct French artistic influences particularly from Reims and Amiens cathedrals and the abbey of St. Denis.³ This was the result of an incremental French presence on account of the immensely popular pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela that began in earnest during Charlemagne's era and reached its apogee well into the fourteenth centuries. Let us now turn to the three personages that are prominent in the chapel of Pope Clement I.

Pope Clement I held a significant place in the history of the early Church during the crucial transition from the apostolic to post-apostolic period, and much later in the early medieval Church in Gaul. What we know about Pope Clement I comes by way of two sources: historical and apocryphal and both are represented in the images of

² Gómez Moreno, *Catálogo Monumental*, pp. 220 and 261.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 224

the chapel windows. First of all, he is the third successor of Peter as bishop of Rome—hence the third pope—who was ordained to the priesthood by the apostle Peter. He also wrote a letter to the Corinthians in the 90s A.D. that has never been put into doubt as concerns the authorship. The letter is one of the precious few documents that we have from this immediate post-apostolic period. It is in fact the only authentic writing of the early bishops of Rome if we exclude the New Testament First Letter of Peter. The reputation of Pope Clement I in the early Church is attested to by Irenaeus of Lyons who in the third century had at his disposal numerous sources for his information about him and specifically about the immediate successors of Peter at Rome.⁴ Eusebius of Caesarea in the fourth century reproduced in general what Irenaeus said about the succession of the bishops of Rome from Peter but not without some nuances.⁵ In the second and third centuries a voluminous amount of written material known as the *Pseudo-Clementines* and *Recognitiones* was attributed to Pope Clement I. Although there is no question that he never wrote these books and sermons the fact that they were attributed to him indicates the high esteem in which he was held in the patristic era. What has not been explained by current scholars is why these works were attributed to him and not the two previous successors to Peter—Linus (c. 66–c. 78) and Anacletus (c. 79–c. 91)—or those immediately following. Let us recall that the ‘historic’ succession from Peter of the three bishops was indisputable. Such was the reputation of Pope Clement I that his name found its way into the oldest Eucharistic Latin prayer of the Roman rite, the

⁴ Irenaeus. *Irenée de Lyon. Contre Hérésies. Livre 1 Tome II* (ed.) A. Rousseau et L. Doutreleau [Sources Chrésiennes, 264] (Paris, 1979) [hereafter *Adversus Haereses*], Et habemus adnumerare eos qui ab apostolis instituti sunt episcopi in Ecclesiis et successores eorum usque ad nos, 3, 1 *Adversus Haereses*, pp. 30–31, and Valde enim perfectos et irreprehensibiles in omnibus eos uolebant esse quos et successores relinquabant, 3, 1 *Adversus Haereses*, pp. 30–31, and Ecclesiarum enumerare successiones, maximae et antiquissimae Petro et Paulo Romae fundatae et constitutae Ecclesiae, cum quam habet ab apostolis traditionem et adnuntiata hominibus fidem per successiones episcoporum peruenientem usque ad nos indicantes, 3, 2 *Adversus Haereses*, pp. 32–33.

⁵ Eusèbe de Césarée, *Histoire ecclésiastique Livres I–IV*. (ed.) Gustave Bardy [Sources Chrésiennes, 31] (Paris, 1952) [hereafter *Historia ecclesiastica*]. Eusebius of Caesarea, cites a very ancient [apostolic] tradition that Pope Clement I is mentioned by name by Paul in his Epistle to the Philippians 4:3, at *Historia ecclesiastica* 3, XV. This detail is not found in Irenaeus, although he did identify the Linus at II Timothy 4:21 as being the same person who became the first bishop of Rome after Peter.

Roman canon. The connection between Pope Clement I and Alfonso X is explained by the fact that the king was born on the Feast day of Pope Clement I and it is the most reasonable explanation why he ordered a chapel constructed in honor of this pontiff, saint, and martyr. Lastly, relics of Pope Clement I were deposited in the chapel in the thirteenth century.⁶

Gregory of Tours who was one of the most prolific and informative writers of the Church in Gaul for all events up to the sixth century accorded a special place to Pope Clement I in his *Libri historiarum*.⁷ Gregory of Tours specifically at *LH*, I, 27 and elsewhere reveals to us the alleged historical link between Pope Clement I and the Church in Gaul. The first thing that Gregory set out to do was to establish the apostolic succession between the Gallic bishops—understandably with special attention to the bishopric of Tours—and the Apostles and he accomplished this successfully via the bishops of Rome. According to Gregory, the first bishop of Tours was Catianus sent to Gaul by a pope during the reign of the Emperor Decius (241–251) (Catianus episcopus anno imperii Decii primo a Romanae sedis papa transmissus est, *LH*, X, 31, p. 526). We are informed, moreover, that he was one of seven men who was consecrated bishop and sent to Gaul to evangelize. It is not possible with certainty to identify the name of the pope who dispatched the mission. However, since we are told that it transpired during the reign of the Emperor Decius, then it was either Pope Fabian (236–250) or Cornelius (251–253), both bishops of Rome at that time. Gregory mistakenly noted at (*LH*, I, 30, p. 23) that Xystus was martyred during the Decian persecution. Gregory preserved the tradition nevertheless that seven men were sent by the Roman bishops—in the plural in—(*GC*, 4, and 29, pp. 301 and 316). However, at *LH*, X, 30, he refers to the bishop of Rome—in the singular and still without a specific name—who sent the missionaries under Decius to Tours, Arles, Narbonne, Toulouse, Paris, Clermont-Ferrand, and Limoges which covered the whole of Gaul.⁸ Gregory of Tours successfully established the apostolic origin and succession of the Gallic bishops through

⁶ Máximo Gómez Rascón. *Catedral de León. Las Vidrieras. El Simbolismo de la Luz* (León, 2000), p. 152.

⁷ Gregorii Episcopi Turonensis, *Libri historiarum X*, MGH SRM. 1. 1. (eds.). B. Krusch and W. Levison (Hannover, 1951). [hereafter *LH*].

⁸ The editions I am using in this study are, *Liber in gloria confessorum* [hereafter

one or two bishops of Rome, the successors of Peter. Those who dismiss outright the historicity of this early papal mission have then to explain why the bishops of Rome, regardless whether it was one or two bishops of Rome, and elsewhere are singled out to identify the apostolic succession? Why did not Gregory simply go to the source itself, an apostle, as happened with the cult of Santiago de Compostela? James in the Compostela pious legend allegedly preached in Iberia before going back to Jerusalem to be martyred. Nevertheless, the succession of bishops in Gaul flowing directly from Peter's successors in Rome is presented by Gregory of Tours as historical fact and whatever scholarly doubts some modern scholars may have about this information is absolutely irrelevant. It is also true that already at Lyons a monarchic bishop was there (Irenaeus of Lyons) in the third century and it is very likely that other monarchic bishops were in Gaul in that period.⁹ Gregory, however, had more to say specifically about Pope Clement I that is relevant to our discussion.

GC] and *Liber in gloria martyrum* [hereafter *GM*], *Miracula et Opera Minora*. MGH, SRM 1, pars II, (eds.) W. Arndt and B. Krusch. (Hannover, 1885). (Xystus Romanæ ecclesiae episcopus [this is erroneous papal chronology by Gregory] Huius tempore septem viri episcopi ordenati ad praedicandum in Galliis missi sunt Hic ergo missi sunt: Turonicis Catianus episcopus, Arelatensibus Trophimus episcopus, Narbonae Paulus episcopus, Tolosae Saturninus episcopus, Parisiacis Dionysius episcopus, Arvernensis Stremonius episcopus, Lemovicinis Martialis est destinatus episcopus, *LH*, I, 30, pp. 22–23). Most of the bishops are attested to elsewhere by Gregory where he repeated that they had been sent by a pope to Gaul, Catianus of Tours, *GC*, 4, p. 301; Saturninus of Toulouse, *GM*, 47, pp. 70–71; Stremonius of Clermont-Ferrand, *GC*, 29, p. 316; Martialis of Limoges, *GC*, 27, pp. 314–315. The only one lacking this specificity, no more than an oversight by Gregory, is Dionysius of Paris, *GM*, 71, pp. 85–86. Even if bishop Catianus is a ‘myth’ as some modern scholars maintain, Martin Heinzelmann, *Gregory of Tours. History and Society in the Sixth Century*. (trans.) C. Carroll. Cambridge, 2001, p. 78, Gregory chose to include him for a reason; to establish the role of the See of Rome in the foundation of the Gallic church. Heinzelmann points out that Gregory at *LH* I, 30 did not mention that the papacy sent the seven missionaries to Gaul, (*Ibid.*, p. 166). We ought not to make too much of this omission for two reasons: One, at *LH*, X, 31, p. 526 the papacy is mentioned. Secondly, Gregory at times when relating the same story twice sometimes alters the text as in the case of the founding of the church of Peter and Paul by Perpetuus, for example at *LH*, II, 14, p. 64 [mentions Peter and Paul] and at *LH*, X, 31, p. 530 [mentions only Peter]. The See of Rome sending out missionary teams in this early period was hardly an anomaly, see F. D. Gilliard, “The Apostolicity of the Gallic Churches,” *Harvard Theological Review* 68 (1975), pp. 17–33, at 30–32.

⁹ Gilliard, “The Apostolicity of the Gallic Churches,” p. 30. Of interest on this theme see also, Felice Lifshitz, “Apostolicity Theses in Gaul: The *Histoires* of Gregory and the ‘Hagiography’ of Bayeux,” *The World of Gregory of Tours*, pp. 211–228. Especially useful for this early period is, Roland Minnerath, “La position de l’église de Rome aux trois premiers siècles,” in *Il Primate del Vescovo di Roma nel Primo*

The succession of the bishops of Rome from Peter is further emphasized when Gregory said that Pope Clement I was the third bishop of Rome, [his predecessors being Linus and Anacletus] (Tertius post Neronem persecutionem in christianus Traianus movet, Sub quo beatus Clemens tertius Romanae ecclesiae fuit episcopus passus, *LH*, I, 27, p. 21; see also *GM*, 35–36, pp. 60–61).¹⁰ The special attention given to Pope Clement I by Gregory is of great significance. A legitimate question to ask is why he gave so much attention to Pope Clement I in the first place?¹¹ We are given more insight when Gregory recalled that the martyr Eutropius had been sent to Gaul by Pope Clement I, whom he also consecrated to the priesthood, to spread the faith of the apostles (Eutropis quoque martyr Sanctonicae urbis a beato Clemente episcopo fertur directus in Galliis, ab eodem etiam pontificalis ordinis gratia consecratus est (*GM*, 55, p. 76). Gregory's agenda seems rather obvious here: he wanted to establish the apostolic origins of the Gallic Church with Peter via the third bishop of Rome [or fourth by some reckonings], Pope Clement I. According to a unanimous patristic tradition Greek and Latin not only was Pope Clement I a direct successor of Peter he had himself been ordained to the priesthood by the apostle. I have already noted above the corollary evidence that enhances the importance of the pope, namely his alleged authorship of the *Pseudo-Clementines* and *Recognitiones*. One last testimony is found in the *Gloria Confessorum* where St. Ursinus, according to Gregory, was ordained by an unnamed disciple of the apostles. Some commentators believe with good reason that Gregory very likely was referring to Pope Clement I as the disciple of the apostles who carried out the ordination.¹² In the end,

Millennio. Ricerche e Testimonianze Atti dell Simposio Storico-Teologico, Roma 9–, 1989. [Atti e Documenti, 4]. Vaticano, 1991, pp. 139–171 and by the same author, “La tradition doctrinale de la primauté pétrinienne au premier millénaire.” In *Il Primato del Successore di Pietro* Atti del Simposio Teologico, Roma, 1996. [Atti e Documenti, 7]. Vaticano, 1998, pp. 117–146.

¹⁰ Irenaeus, *Fundantes igitur et instruantes beati apostoli Ecclesiam*, Lino episcopatum administrandae Ecclesiae tradiderunt: huius Lini Paulus in his quae sunt ad Timotheum epistolis [II Timothy 4:21] meminit. Succedit autem ei Anacletus. Post eum tertio loco ab apostolis episcopatum sortitur Clemens, qui et uidit apostolos ipsos, 3, 3 *Adversus Haereses*, pp. 32–35.

¹¹ Thomas F. X. Noble, “Gregory of Tours and the Roman Church,” in *The World of Gregory of Tours*. (ed.) K. Mitchell and I. Wood. [Cultures, Beliefs, and Traditions, 8]. (Brill, 2002), pp. 149–151.

¹² Biturgia vero urbs primum a sancto Ursino, qui a discipulis apostolorum episcopus ordinatus in Galliis destinatus est, *GC*, 79, p. 346. See useful commentary in

Gregory of Tours created a bridge between the apostle Peter and Pope Clement I that established the vital historical nexus between the apostolic period and the Gallic Church.

We now turn to Martin of Tours—the apostle to Gaul—whose cult left a deep imprint in both Gaul and in Iberia, notably along the northern route of the pilgrimage road to Santiago de Compostela. Situating Pope Clement I and Martin of Tours together in the León chapel seems less anomalous in light of the preceding discussion, but there is more. First, let us briefly look at the significance of the shrine with the relics of Martin of Tours in Gaul once again through the works of his greatest propagandist, Gregory of Tours. In the last book of his *Libri historiarum* Gregory of Tours related in brief biographies the succession of bishops at Tours. All of them, as we saw above, were ultimately linked to the apostles via Pope Clement I, and Martin of Tours was no exception. Martin, third bishop of Tours, set the example for bishops who succeeded him by demonstrating his devotion to Peter and Paul. Among his many achievements listed by Gregory is the church he built in honor of Peter and Paul at the monastery of Marmoutier near Tours (In monasterio vero qui nunc Maior dicitur basilicam in honore sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli aedificavit, *LH*, X, 31, p. 526).¹³ Martin of Tours within the Gallic Church held a ‘primacy’ and his devotion to Peter and Paul enhanced it. Pope Clement I is once again the nexus between the apostle Peter and Martin of Tours. So it is most appropriate that Martin of Tours and Pope Clement I are joined together in the Cathedral of León.

The veneration of Martin of Tours has a long historical trajectory in the Iberian Peninsula. Hydatius, bishop of Iria Flavia in *Gallaecia* (390–470) in his *Chronicon* which covers events in Iberia from 378 to 469, contains one of the earliest Iberian testimonies of knowl-

Raymond Van Dam, *Gregory of Tours. Glory of the Confessors* Translated Texts for Historians, Latin Series, 4. (Liverpool, 1988) Van Dam, p. 83, note 88.

¹³ The status that Martin is accorded with Peter by Gregory is similar that given to Paul in the New Testament in relation to the Twelve. Paul saw the risen Christ, he received the right hand of fellowship from Peter, worked miracles like Peter, founded churches like Peter, died a martyr with Peter, but he is never counted among the Twelve. Most relevant is that the Revelation of John (21:14) says that the New Jerusalem [the Church] has twelve foundations stones on which the names of the apostles were inscribed. Paul is clearly not a foundation stone even though he wrote the bulk of the non-Gospel material of the New Testament.

edge of the cult of Martin in Gaul. Martin was above all venerated for his virtuous life and miracles.¹⁴ Miracles became even more abundant after his death at his shrine in Tours which resulted in increasing devotion to him that gave rise to pilgrimages to Tours, even by pilgrims from Iberia. An actual shrine to the cult of Martin was not constructed until the sixth century and it was done so in *Gallaecia* in Northwestern Iberia. Gregory Tours happens to be our principal source for this event. The introduction of the cult of Martin of Tours to Iberia was the work in part of his namesake and fellow countryman Martin of Braga (520–579) both who fared from the Roman province of Panonnia [present-day Hungary and Romania]. The shrine with relics of Martin of Tours was constructed in Braga, then seat of the Suevic monarchy and principal See in Galicia, with the support of the Suevic King Chararic (550?–558?). Subsequently in the era of the early ‘Reconquista’ in Iberia and Carolingian dynasty in Gaul the cult of Martin Tours spread widely into the urban and rural areas across northern Iberia.¹⁵ By the end of the Middle Ages churches or shrines dedicated to Martin of Tours in Iberia numbered in the thousands and they still do so to this day.¹⁶ The pilgrimage

¹⁴ In ibi similiter a sancto Martino episcopo et ab aliis episcopis haereticus iudicatus appellat ad Caesarem (Chapter 7), p. 48 and Beatissimi Martini uitam et mirabilia quae fecit Seuerus uir summus discipulus ipsius (Chapter 11), p. 54 in Julio Campos, *Idacio, Obispo de Chaves. Su Cronicon* (Salamanca, 1984).

¹⁵ A. Ferreiro, “The Cult of Saints and Divine Patronage in *Gallaecia* before Santiago,” in *The Pilgrimage to Compostela in the Middle Ages* (ed.) Mary Jane Dunn and Linda Davidson Garland Medieval Casebooks (New York, 1996), pp. 3–22. The complexities of the Gallic and Iberian sources are unraveled in, A. Ferreiro, “Braga and Tours: Some observations on Gregory’s *De virtutibus sancti Martini* (1.11).” *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 3,2 (1995) 195–210. For full bibliography on Martin of Braga with commentary see, A. Ferreiro, “Sueves and Martin of Braga: Historiography and Future Research Prospects,” *Suevos/Schwaben. Das Königreich der Sueben auf der Iberischen Halbinsel (411–585). Interdisziplinäres Kolloquium* Universidade do Minho, Braga, 4–6 March 1996 (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1998), pp. 37–62.

¹⁶ For the spread of the cults of Martin of Tours and Martin of Braga in northern Portugal and Galicia consult, A. Ferreiro, “Martinho de Braga: de apóstolo dos Suevos à sua memória en época medieval na Diocese de Mondoñedo–Ferrol,” *Galicia faz dous mil anos O Fecho Diferencial Galego. I. Historia* Santiago de Compostela, 16–19 Decembro, 1996. (Santiago de Compostela: Museo do Pobo Galego, 1997), pp. 323–356, with maps and photos; and A. Ferreiro, “Veneration of Martin of Tours and Martin of Braga in Northern Portugal,” *Acta Historica et Archaeologica Mediaevalia (Homenatge al Dr. Manuel Ruu i Ruu)* 20–21 (1999–2000) 223–242, 12 ill. On Martin of Tours see, *De virtutibus sancti Martini* MGH. SRM I, pars II, (eds.) W. Arndt and B. Krusch (Hannover, 1885) Consult the new edition and translation of the ‘Life of Martin of Tours’ in, Raymond Van Dam, *Saints and their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul* (Princeton, 1999).

road to Santiago de Compostela where León lies is one where the cult of Martin of Tours was and remains very prominent. It is hardly surprising then to find Martin of Tours given such an honored position in the chapel of Pope Clement I.

The last of the three personages in the chapel is Simon Magus who is first found in the New Testament and later reemerges in the Christian Apocryphal *Acts of Peter* and *Passion of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul*. Both of these sources mark the end of the Simon Magus type in the post-New Testament period. It is from these two works that virtually all future 'types' of Simon Magus developed from and were expanded upon by heresiologists in the early Church to achieve their own polemical goals. The *Acts of Peter* is believed to have been written somewhere between 150 to 190 A.D. while the *Passion* in the fifth or sixth centuries.¹⁷ They both represent a departure in emphasis from the yet earlier Gnostic portrayal of Simon Magus—as being the founder of these sects—by the Church Fathers, beginning especially with Irenaeus of Lyons. All of these traditions depart from the New Testament Simon Magus in Acts 8:4–25 in significant ways. In the New Testament the fate of Simon Magus is open ended after Peter's rebuke. We are not informed if Simon Magus repented as Peter admonished him to do or if he persisted in his error. In the non canonical sources Simon Magus is the anti-apostle—specifically against Peter—a reprobate who is in league with the powers of darkness and who at every turn attempts to thwart the ministry of Peter and Paul in Rome. Simon Magus feigns all manner of miracles to attract followers away from the apostles to establish his own cult in Rome with the full devotion and backing of the Emperor Nero. In the end, during the final spectacular confrontation with Peter and Paul in which Simon flies in the air over Rome with the aid of demons; Peter with the aid of the Holy Spirit brings him down by rebuking the demons, who then release Simon, thus causing his death.

¹⁷ The standard edition for the *Acts of Peter* and the *Passion of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul* is, R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet (eds.) *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* (Hildesheim-New York, 1972). A reliable translation is in, Schneemelcher, W. and E. Hennecke (eds.) and R. McL. Wilson (trans.) *New Testament Apocrypha* 2 vols (Philadelphia, 1965). A comparison of the two texts is in, A. Ferreiro, "Simon Magus and Simon Peter in the *Acts of Peter* and the *Passion of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul*," *Pietro e Paolo. Il loro rapporto con Roma nelle testimonianze antiche. XXIX Incontro di studiosi dell'antichità Cristiana* [Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum, 74]. Augustinianum. Rome, 4–6 May, 2000 [2001], pp. 41–66. Reprinted in this volume.

Although the *Acts of Peter* and the *Passion* differ on this final point both have the same net result, the death of Simon Magus and the undoing of any potential Simonian cult in Rome and the triumph of Peter and Paul.¹⁸ The Emperor Nero who had become a devotee of Simon Magus in his anger ordered the execution of Peter and Paul by crucifixion and beheading, respectively. This in brief is a condensed account of the confrontations of Simon Magus and Simon Peter as found in the apocryphal sources. It is clear then why Simon Magus has been placed in a chapel that is dedicated to Pope Clement I. The pontiff of course represents the ongoing legitimate succession of Peter through the bishops of Rome and of all bishops while Simon Magus the perpetual anti-apostle is 'typologically speaking' always opposing them. One subject that needs addressing in this study is to establish as best as is possible which of these traditions were used by those who designed the windows in the chapel of Pope Clement I. One glaring omission is that the most reproduced image of Simon Magus in art—his fall from the sky—is not in the chapel.

The iconography in the chapel is an exquisite group of windows and the most complete study of them, as well as the entire cathedral, is that by Máximo Gómez Rascón. In that study he repeatedly cites as the sole literary source for the windows as being Jacobus of Voragine's *Golden Legend*.¹⁹ Even though this is true for some of the panels the *Golden Legend* does not account for all of the themes represented. The designers and artists, as will become evident, were in one way or another acquainted with sources other than the *Golden Legend*. In my description below of the themes of the chapel I will also identify the literary sources that likely inspired them.

The chapel is crowned, as it were, with a small rose window dedicated to St. Martin of Tours (figure 2, Gómez Rascón, p. 79). In the central top portion he is depicted as bishop of Tours with his staff and miter and with his right hand offering a blessing with two fingers that signify the Christological creed of Chalcedon (451), the

¹⁸ A study of all the major Church Fathers on the Fall of Simon Magus is in, A. Ferreiro, "The Fall of Simon Magus in Early Christian Commentary" *Tempus Implendi Promissa. Homenaje al Prof. Dr. Domingo Ramos-Lissón* (ed.) E. Reinhardt. [Colección Historia de la Iglesia, 33]. (Pamplona: EUNSA, 2000), pp. 171–185. Reprinted in this volume.

¹⁹ I am using the excellent translation of, William Granger Ryan, *Jacobus of Voragine. The Golden Legend*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1993).



Fig. 2

full humanity and divinity of Christ. At the bottom we see Martin in what is the most famous artistic representation of his life: his sharing of a portion of his cape with a beggar. This image became the iconographic signature of this saint throughout all of Europe and wherever else his cult has ever flourished. Flanking this center portion are scenes of miraculous events at the hands of Martin apparently from his earthly ministry as related by Sulpicius Severus²⁰ and

²⁰ For the life of Martin of Tours during his earthly ministry see, *Sulpice Sévère. Vie de Saint Martin* (ed.) J. Fontaine, 3 vols. [Sources Chrétiennes, 133-135] Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1967-1969.

also perhaps from his relics at the shrine in Tours as recorded by his second hagiographer Gregory of Tours. We see in front of Martin a structure that I believe is his sepulchre that would contain his relics. The window integrates in one place Martin's earthly ministry and the ongoing healing ministry from heaven through his relics at the shrine. Martin became known for his holiness of life and miracles; both signs of his sanctity and union with Christ that made him a model Christian.

As we move downward there are two panels that contain Simon Magus. The larger one (figure 3) dates from the thirteenth century and is the oldest in the chapel collection (Gómez Rascón, p. 14). The *Acts of Peter, Passion*, and the canonical Acts of the Apostles (Acts 8:9) all relate that he had a large following of adoring disciples. Although they also report many miracles at his hands, even at times feigned ones, the source of his power nevertheless is always attributed to the devil and demonic powers and not the Holy Spirit. In this window Simon Magus is not shown performing any miracles as is frequently so in much of the iconography. The accent is twofold: his lack of generosity and his teaching authority, the latter is depicted in the smaller panel seated above his followers in a chair 'cathedra' teaching while receiving gifts from his admirers (figure 4, Gómez Rascón, p. 15). Gómez Rascón interprets this window as showing Simon Magus doing works of charity. I disagree; because Simon Magus in none of the traditions is ever depicted being generous and I do not believe that he is depicted here doing so. Simon's willingness to receive pay in the form of gifts from his followers contrasts with Christ's admonition to the contrary, "Without cost you have received; without cost you are to give," Matthew 10:8b, thus highlighting his lust for material gain and admiration. In the larger panel (figure 3, Gómez Rascón, p. 14) a man on his left in the background along with two women, who are given prominence, and two children with folded hands in adoration surround Simon Magus. Heretics were often accused of leading women astray and Simon Magus was not exception in this. Furthermore, it evokes Paul's warning that false teachers would, "slip into homes and make captive women weighed down by sins, led by various desires [sexual]," (2 Timothy 3:6). What is striking is that Simon Magus is not giving anything in return; instead he seems to be reveling in their worship of him. On the other hand, Martin is expressing his love and generosity to the poor without receiving anything by way of material



Fig. 3

goods or money. The people shown coming to Martin for healing powerfully contrasts with the absence of anything of the miraculous associated with Simon Magus. In the Martin window to his right there is an individual clearly with hands folded in prayer invoking the bishop of Tours for his blessing and healing. Martin, furthermore, is depicted in full episcopal regalia that highlights his legitimate apostolic succession which in turn validates the divine source of his ability to heal. Moreover, his compassion to be generous with the poor beggar is inspired by the Holy Spirit and not by selfish designs as is the case with Simon Magus. Simon Magus let us recall was portrayed as the anti-apostle in the patristic-medieval tradition and in the two panels there is not a hint in his dress of his having any episcopal authority much less authentic apostolic succession.

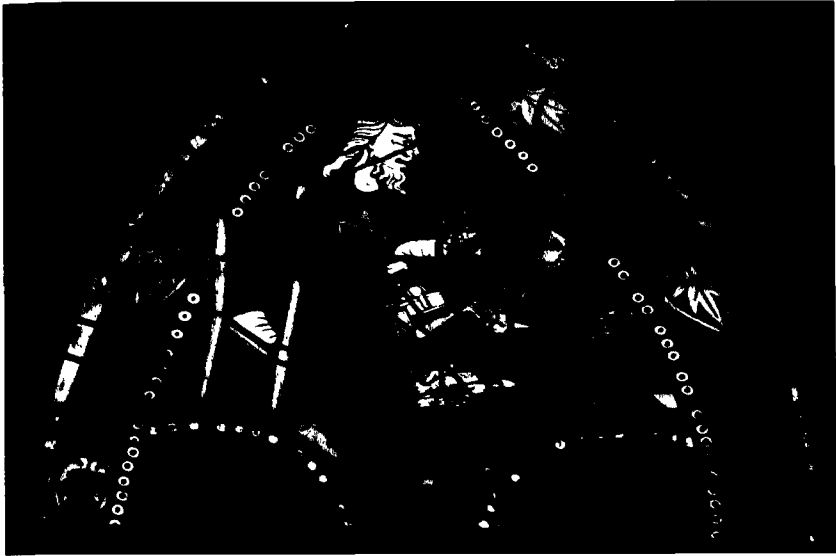


Fig. 4

Lastly, Simon Magus seems to be standing (figure 3) on what appears to be a serpent, not in triumph over evil, perhaps as a symbol that his foundation rests on the Evil One.

The majority of the panels as one would expect focus on the life and deeds of Pope Clement I. Unlike the Martin of Tours and Simon Magus images the literary sources for the themes of the pope's life in this chapel are more diverse and will be identified as I describe the content. A recurring theme was to demonstrate that Pope Clement I and Martin of Tours represented authentic servants of God whereas Simon Magus was the fraudulent teacher who had nothing to offer in return, but instead demanded only worship of his person.

Below the smaller Simon Magus image the panel depicts the story of a mother who lost her child during a pilgrimage to the shrine of the pope. As the tidal waters returned she lost track of her son in the confusion who was swept away while she struggled to avoid drowning (figure 5, Gómez Rascón, appendix). After desperately looking for the dead boy whom she thought would wash ashore the mother gave up and went home miserable to grieve her son's death. A year later after many tears and mourning she went back again to the shrine to participate in Pope Clement's feast still hoping to find

some trace of her son. As the waters receded she was the first to arrive at the tomb where she prayed and wept intensely. She then turned and saw her son lying precisely in the same spot where she had left him. She thought he was dead but to her amazement and joy he woke up and the mother hugged and kissed him profusely. The child apparently was unaware that a year had transpired all the while thinking he had only spent one night there. The entire point of the story of course is to point to Pope Clement's shrine with his relics as being the direct cause as to why the son was preserved alive for a year and why he had not drowned. This episode is found in the *Glory of the Martyrs* (35, pp. 60–61) and in a more embellished version the *Golden Legend*.²¹ The placement of this scene in close proximity to Simon Magus is not arbitrary but deliberate. It creates a dramatic contrast between Simon Magus who took and gave nothing in return whereas Pope Clement I offered the healing touch of God through his relics. He was also every bit the servant of Christ called to 'feed' the sheep through healing and preservation of life. In the *Acts of Peter* and *Passion* there is no similar story of this nature. There is, however, a confrontation where Simon Magus feigned to raise a young man from the dead. Simon Peter on the other hand performed the bona fide miracle by bringing him back to life thereby exposing the fraudulent claims of Simon Magus.²² In this chapel the contrast is as dramatic and the message is the same; the pope had all of the 'charisms' of a legitimate apostolic bishop; Simon Magus was a cohort of the Devil who was unable to preserve life much less restore it.

Next to the panel already discussed is one showing a 'temple' in the ocean (figure 7, Gómez Rascón, p. 20). Gregory of Tours does not have this story in his comments about the pontiff, but the *Golden Legend* does. Other sources report that Pope Clement I died as a martyr during the reign of the Emperor Trajan (98–117 A.D.).

²¹ Rvan, *Golden Legend*, 2:331–332 and *GM*, 35, pp. 60–61.

²² Et uocem accipiens Christi domini mei, dico tibi: iuuenis, surge et ambula cum matrem tua usque dum ei prode es. postea autem mihi uagauis altis ministrans, diaconi ac episcopi sorte. *Acts of Peter* 27, 9–12, p. 74, in Ferreiro, "Simon Magus and Simon Peter," p. 47, note 24. The entire episode is in chapters 25 to 27, pp. 72–74. Also, et tangens Petrus pueris latus dixit: Surge. Et surgens puer sustulit uestimenta sua et sedit et soluit sibi mentum, petens aliam uestimenta, descendit de lecto et dixit ad Petrum. *Acts of Peter* 28, 21–23, p. 77, in Ferreiro, "Simon Magus and Simon Peter," p. 47, note 25.



Fig. 7

Eusebius only says that he died during the reign of Trajan without specifying martyrdom. Since Irenaeus of Lyons, our earliest source, did not mention the martyrdom of the pope there are solid grounds to believe that the martyrdom is a latter interpolation into the life of Pope Clement I.²³ Gregory of Tours preserved the alleged martyrdom under Trajan (Tertius post Neronem persecutionem in christianus Traianus movet, Sub quo beatus Clemens tertius Romanae ecclesiae fuit episcopus passus, *LH*, I, 27, p. 21 and at *GM*, 36, where he calls him 'beati Clementis martyr,' p. 61) as does the *Liber Pontificalis* which specifies that it occurred in the year 100 A.D.²⁴ The *Golden Legend* contains the most elaborate account of the martyrdom. The Roman official acting on behalf of the Emperor Trajan ordered Pope Clement's body cast into the ocean with an anchor fastened around his neck. He feared that the Christians would worship him as a 'god.' As the pontiff's disciples set out to retrieve his body suddenly the ocean receded three miles. They proceeded to walk on 'dry' land and found a small building prepared by the Lord in the

²³ J. N. D. Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 7–8.

²⁴ R. Davis (trans.), *The Book of Pontiffs: Liber Pontificalis*. [Translated Texts for Historians. Latin Series, 5] (Liverpool, 1989), chapter 4, p. 3.

shape of an ark containing the body of the pope with the anchor lying beside it. It is this ark with his relics that pilgrims went to every year to celebrate the feast of his martyrdom as related in the previous story. In the chapel of Pope Clement I in León the ark and his being tossed into the ocean and exile are all exquisitely reproduced. The exile according to the *Golden Legend* was to Pontus Euxinus on the Black Sea.²⁵ The pope's exile, martyrdom, and subsequent miracles through his relics at his tomb confirm him as the consummate servant of God along with Martin of Tours in sharp contrast to the self serving Simon Magus. The abundant miracles at the shrines of Martin of Tours and Pope Clement I in these accounts—although the latter story has no basis in fact—join these two in a formidable way and they undermine the false pretenses of Simon Magus who is void of the power of God. Finally, Jacobus of Voragine also related the transfer of the relics of Pope Clement I to Rome where they were deposited in a church named after him.²⁶

There is one more miracle represented in the chapel windows and in the literary sources where Pope Clement I becomes a Moses 'type' by bringing forth water from the desert during a drought (figure 8, Gómez Rascón, p. 49). Gregory of Tours (*GM*, 36, p. 61) and the *Golden Legend*²⁷ respectively contain this tale, but each tells their story in an entirely different context. Gregory set his story within the territory of Limoges that had a spring that watered the gardens and fields of the region. After a series of canals were constructed to divert the water to more fields the spring dried up. At this point Gregory says that this was the work of the 'deceiver.' Only trickles or puddles of water which did no one any good were left. The farmers became alarmed at what became a desperate situation since a drought now gripped the region and all of the crops and gardens began to wither and die. Into the third year of the drought a man came through Limoges carrying the relics of the 'blessed martyr' Pope Clement I. He delivered the relics to a priest named Aredius of Limoges renowned for his holiness. For several days the people gathered with Aredius in a vigil to invoke God's intervention trusting that the priest could move Pope Clement I to intercede on their

²⁵ Ryan, *Golden Legend*, 2:331.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 2:332.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 2:331–332 and *GM*, 36, p. 61.



Fig. 8

behalf. Aredius led a procession while they chanted a psalm [unspecified] to the location where the spring once flowed. After the chant ended he knelt in prayer and placed Pope Clement's relics on the source of the spring. Gregory of Tours here interjected that just as previously God brought forth water from the desert through Moses [Exodus 17:1–7; Numbers 20:7–11] so again this happened at Limoges through the intervention of Pope Clement I. Immediately abundant water rushed forth in such great quantity that the banks overflowed and the gardens and crops once again blossomed. The people rejoiced in thanking God that through his servant the martyr Pope Clement I and through the prayers of Aredius the region was delivered from the devastating drought.²⁸

²⁸ Admirantibus populis, immensae gratiae Domino referuntur, qui et martyris virtutem prodidit et fidelis sui orationem implere dignatus est, *GM*, 36, p. 61. The insights of Raymond Van Dam on this text are valuable, *Gregory of Tours. Glory of the Martyrs* [Translated Texts for Historians, Latin Series, 3]. (Liverpool, 1988), pp. 57–58.

Jacobus of Voragine, on the other hand, situated this miracle of the waters within the context of Pope Clement's exile.²⁹ When Pope Clement I was placed with a group of exiled prisoners they told him that they had to carry water on their shoulders for six miles. He asked the prisoners to join him in prayer to God to bring forth water just as Moses did when he struck the rock in the desert. Upon finishing the prayer the pontiff looked up and saw a lamb with his foot raised so as to signal a spot for him to strike. Jacobus says that the pope understood that the lamb was Jesus and that only he was granted the discernment to 'see' the Lord. In patristic exegesis the rock that Moses struck in the desert was seen as a 'type' of Jesus Christ. St. Paul already made such a typological link between the two, "and all drank the same spiritual drink, for they drank from a spiritual rock that followed them, and the rock was the Christ," (I Corinthians 10:4). The pope struck 'gently' the ground invoking the Holy Trinity with a 'small stick' on the spot that the lamb pointed to and water like a flood came out of the ground. News of the miracle spread rapidly drawing throngs of people to the site and up to five hundred were baptized. The new converts straightway destroyed temples filled with idols and within one year built seventy-five churches. In both distinct accounts Pope Clement I, acting as a Moses, became the source of life giving waters in the temporal and spiritual sense. Moreover, in Gregory's account the believers were confirmed in the faith while in the *Golden Legend* abundant conversions took place. Finally, a departure from the biblical account is that neither the people at Limoges nor the exiled prisoners are presented as being ungrateful or rebellious against God when demanding water.

The panel in the Cathedral of León has drawn its inspiration primarily from the *Golden Legend* with some adaptations by the artists. The scene shows all of the contours of the *Golden Legend*: the pope striking the spot where the lamb is pointing to, the lamb with a halo around it identifies it typologically as Jesus Christ, and the pontiff is in full episcopal regalia. There are slight departures: Pope Clement I is striking the ground with his pastoral staff and not the 'short stick' mentioned in the *Golden Legend*. Furthermore, Jacobus said specifically that he struck the ground 'gently' in sharp contrast to the parallel episode where Moses, "struck the rock twice with his

²⁹ Ryan, *Golden Legend*, 2:331.

staff," (Numbers 20:11). God in turn punished Moses and told him he would never see the Promised Land. According to most biblical exegetes when Moses struck the rock 'twice' he revealed his lack of faith in God's power. Jacobus here is careful to point out that the pope did not waver in his faith and struck the spot only once 'a light blow' [note in the singular] and 'gently.' A fascinating detail is a woman standing behind the pope. Who this woman is and what she signifies is not easy to establish? My first impulse would be to identify her with Mary, Mother of God, but the woman here does not have a halo or any sign that would identify her as such. She is clearly extending a hand towards the pope's back in support of the miracle that is taking place. The woman could perhaps be Lady Wisdom. On the other hand she may a noblewoman who may have been one of the patrons of this chapel for her clothing is not that of a peasant. I for one lean towards seeing her as Lady Wisdom which in a veiled way would point to Mary, Mother of God; but that is speculation on my part short of precise information about her identity. Lastly, one departure from the literary narrative is that Pope Clement I is holding a book in his hand; this undoubtedly would be his letter or letters to the church in Corinth. In any case, the panel with its lavish bright colors accentuates the abundant life that the waters brought to the people through this 'new' Moses: martyr, faithful servant of God, and successor of Peter.

We now come to the last theme in the chapel: the letter or 'letters' that the pontiff wrote to the faithful in Corinth. The intervention in Corinth by Pope Clement I by way of epistle is related in Irenaeus, Eusebius, and the *Liber Pontificalis*, but not by Gregory of Tours or Jacobus in the *Golden Legend*. Unlike all of the above themes already touched upon that are clearly non-historical hagiographical legends the intervention of the pontiff by epistle rests on solid historical ground. Our oldest testimony aside from the epistle itself comes from Irenaeus who added that it was *one* letter that Pope Clement I wrote to the Corinthians to settle some disputes.³⁰ Eusebius repeated this same information but added that the *first* letter was

³⁰ Irenaeus, Sub hoc igitur Clemente dissensione non modica inter eos qui Corintho essent fratres facta, scripsit quae est Romae Ecclesia potentissimas litteras Corinthiis, ad pacem eos congregans et reparans fidem eorum et adnuntians quam in recenti ab apostolis acceperat traditionem, 3, 3, *Adversus Haereses*, pp. 34-35.

the only one *recognized* as being from the pen of the pope. Apparently there was already a dispute about an alleged second letter that was not accepted as actually written by the pope. In support of the authenticity of the first letter Eusebius noted that it had been read in many churches during the liturgy since apostolic times and was still being used in his day.³¹ The *Liber Pontificalis* erroneously related that Pope Clement I wrote 'two epistles called catholic' having ignored the reliable testimony of Irenaeus and Eusebius.³² This letter was used increasingly in the patristic era and especially the Middle Ages to buttress the claims of the future bishops of Rome that they had universal jurisdiction over the entire Church. Although this became and is still a point of great dispute between the eastern bishops and the popes at Rome the letter at the very least does demonstrate that Pope Clement I was held with a special esteem since he was considered the third successor of Peter. It is this authority of primacy that is highlighted in the chapel in León (figures 9, Gómez Rascón, p. 94). The pontiff again, in full episcopal regalia presents his letter to another prelate from Corinth who with hands extended reaches out to receive the letter (figure 6, Gómez Rascón, appendix). The theme highlights the authority of Pope Clement I including that of the local bishops of León who themselves have the legitimate apostolic succession. This is shown in the image of the pope (figure 9) where we can identify behind him the coat of arms of two bishops of León, Jacobo de Veneris (1463-1470)—on the left side—and Rodrigo de Vergara (1470-1478)—on the right side. By extension the bishops of León had the authority to exercise their episcopal authority—as Pope Clement I had done so in Corinth—in the diocese of León. Moreover, anyone who opposed the authority of the bishop found themselves in league with a false messenger like Simon Magus who had neither apostolic authority nor any of the charisms of the Holy Spirit.

What appears to be an odd joining of Pope Clement I, Martin of Tours, and Simon Magus in this chapel has by now been shown to be not so at all. The chapel reveals the French influences that permeate the Cathedral of León specifically and the whole of northern Iberia in general along the pilgrimage road to Santiago de

³¹ Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica* 3, XVI, p. 120.

³² Davis, *Liber Pontificalis*, p. 3.

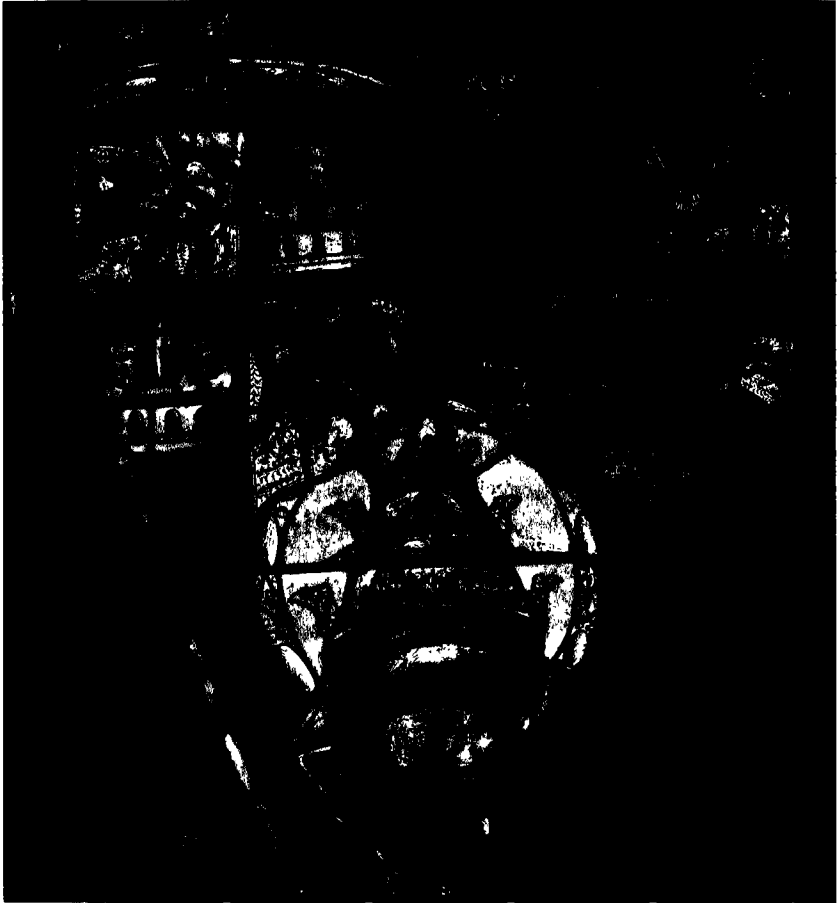


Fig. 9

Compostela. Martin of Tours a widely venerated saint in Iberia particularly in the north provides a powerful example of the healing power of God as the rose window effectively shows. Episcopal authority through apostolic succession is a prominent theme in both Martin of Tours and in Pope Clement I in this chapel. Equally important, the pope worked miracles and pastored his flock through his Corinthian letter and died a martyr, the ultimate witness of a life surrendered to Christ. Simon Magus instead was depicted without any miraculous powers. He appears only taking from and demanding adoration from his followers which is a complete antithesis to the call of servi-

tude of the true followers of Christ. To the lay faithful who admired these scenes in the chapel the message was clear: the true shepherds of the Church are the legitimate successors of Peter and through them the authentic gifts of the Holy Spirit are active for the benefit of both temporal and spiritual needs. False teachers on the other hand do not have the Holy Spirit active in their lives and they dupe people into adoring them instead of God. The chapel of Pope Clement I in the Cathedral of León, as with the rest of the chapels, served as an effective pedagogical instrument to the mostly functionally illiterate faithful across the centuries. Even in our time, however, while one can still admire the aesthetic beauty of the windows; the underlying spiritual message is still as relevant, compelling, and inspirational as it has been for centuries: *Ubi Caritas et Amore, Deus ibi est.*

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

SIMON MAGUS AND SIMON PETER IN A BAROQUE ALTAR RELIEF IN THE CATHEDRAL OF OVIEDO, SPAIN*

The city of Oviedo in Asturias has always held a privileged place in medieval Spanish history. It was in Asturias that an independent kingdom emerged in the early eighth century that initiated the struggle—the Reconquista—against the recently arrived conquering Muslims. Asturias also boasts to this day numerous ecclesiastical structures, particularly its exquisite Romanesque churches, which have graced that province for centuries. Among these monuments stands the Cathedral of Oviedo located in the heart of the capital of Asturias (see figure 1).¹

The architecture of the Cathedral of Oviedo as it exists today dates almost in its entirety to the fifteenth century. It is one of few cathedrals in Spain that is considered an exemplar of the late Gothic style. As in the case of most late medieval churches the Cathedral of Oviedo was constructed upon earlier foundations. Some historians maintain that originally a basilica was built upon that site by Fruela I (757–768) and rebuilt—presumably after some destruction—by Alfonso II, the Chaste (791–842).² We also have testimony from

* This research would have been impossible without the intervention, counsel, and encouragement of the Rev. Dr. Agustín Hevia Ballina, Director and Chief Archivist of the *Diocesan Archives of Oviedo*. I also extend my gratitude to the Dean and Cabild of the Cathedral of Oviedo, Don Francisco Tuero Bertrand, for granting me permission to measure and photograph the relief. Also, to Don Francisco Rodríguez Suárez, archivist of the Archbishopric of Oviedo, for access to the cathedral archives. Finally, to *Seattle Pacific University* for a Faculty Research Grant which made possible my travel to and stay in Oviedo. A version of this paper was read at the *11th Annual European Studies Symposium*, 25–28 February 1997, at *Seattle Pacific University*.

¹ For general studies on the Cathedral of Oviedo consult, Justo Álvarez Amandi, “Monumentos religiosos de Oviedo”, in *Asturias. Su historia y monumentos*. O. Bellmunt y Traver & Fermín Canella y Secades (eds.) vol. 1. Gijón, 1895, pp. 104–121; J. Álvarez Amandi, *La catedral de Oviedo. (Perfiles histórico-arqueológicos)*. Oviedo, 1929; G. Ramallo Asensio, *Escultura barroca en Asturias*, Oviedo, 1985, pp. 447–491, and J. Cuesta Fernández, *Guía de la Catedral de Oviedo*. 2nd, Ed. Oviedo, 1995.

² Cuesta Fernández, *Guía de la Catedral*, pp. 24–27.

other sources that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries further additions were made to the basilica. In any case, it is unfortunate that virtually none of these earlier Cathedral structures survive in any significant measure.

We also lack any specific documentation which identifies the principal architect of the Cathedral. The rich documentation, however, from the Cathedral Archives yields the names of many artists and architects who over time played a part in expanding the Cathedral. Cuesta Fernández has made the observation that the Cathedral of Oviedo is strictly speaking a regional creation; a monument that has experienced very little external artistic influence.³ One of these additions, a series of side altars (Girola) arranged in semicircular fashion behind the main Altar, was completed in the seventeenth century and it is the object of this study.⁴ The Girola consists of five chapels rendered in late Renaissance style. The major architect employed by the Cabild of the Cathedral to execute this work was Juan de Noveda who signed a formal contract in 1621 for 8,000 ducats. For the better part of a decade financial problems literally halted the construction of the five chapels. It was not until 17 December 1632 that the chapel of St. Peter was finally ordered for construction by the bishop of Oviedo, Bernardo Caballero de Paredes.⁵

The chapel to Peter naturally holds the central position; the other four chapels flank it evenly on both sides (see figure 2). Unlike the main structure of the Cathedral the chapels are in a remarkable good state of preservation. The altar in the chapel has at the center an image of St. Peter seated triumphantly on his Episcopal throne which proclaims his primacy as first bishop of Rome (see figure 3). The triumph of Peter, however, was achieved through two trials that are dramatically recreated in the altar. The first, is a polychrome relief panel below the figure of Peter which depicts his confrontation with his arch rival Simon Magus (see figure 4). The relief is modest in size and it measures 134.5 cm. (4.5 feet) long and 86.5 cm. (2.10 feet) high. Above the main image of Peter we can see his inverted

³ Ibid., p. 27.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 135-148.

⁵ Ibid., p. 145. See also *Estadismo de la Diócesis de Oviedo*, (1902), Oviedo, 1903, p. 49; P. Penzol, *Algunos altares barrocos en Asturias*, "Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Asturianos", 6, 16 (1952), pp. 189-203; Ramallo Asensio, *Escultura barroca*, pp. 467-476, at 468. The document is deposited in the Archivo Capitular Ovetense, vol. 23, fol. 674v, dated Friday 17 December 1632.

crucifixion. This final triumphant act added to belief in his preeminent position among the apostles, and also over the entire Church (see figure 5). What is of significance here is that in both cases the artists, with the approval of the Cabild of the Cathedral, chose as their subject matter two episodes of the life of Peter drawn from the apocryphal New Testament. There are two major questions that I wish to explore in this article: First, to identify the literary source most responsible for inspiring the artists; Second, the artistic adaptation of the apocryphal legend of the confrontation between Simon Magus and Peter in this chapel relief.

The scene dramatically captured in this relief is the most well known of the several apocryphal stories about Simon Magus and Peter. It is frequently retold across the centuries in both literary sources and in art.⁶ Among the literary sources the story is found specifically in the *Actus Petri cum Simone* (= *Acta Petri*) and the *Passio sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli* (= *Passio*), both of which are widely believed were written around the second and third centuries.⁷ These texts experienced extensive diffusion throughout the Middle Ages primarily from the thirteenth century onward through the mediation of Jacobus of Voragine's *Golden Legend* (*Legenda Aurea*) dated approximately to 1260.⁸ While the *Passio* and the *Acta Petri* narratives have shared similarities and they undoubtedly influenced Jacobus de Voragine, they all differ on essential points. By comparing the content of these texts we will be able to arrive as to which ones were the primary sources employed by the artists of the Oviedo relief. Let us first compare the *Acta Petri* and the *Passio* before proceeding to Jacobus's retelling of the aerial flight of Simon Magus.

In the opening scenes of the encounter leading up to the flight of Simon Magus there are some prominent points of departure. In the

⁶ See A. Ferreiro, *Simon Magus: the patristic-medieval traditions and historiography*, "Apocrypha", 7 (1996), pp. 147–165.

⁷ The editions used in this study are *Actus Petri cum Simone* and *Passio sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli* in *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet (eds.), Lipsiae 1891, pp. 45–103 and 119–177, respectively. A translation into English of the *Acts of Peter* is in E. Hennecke, *New Testament Apocrypha*, W. Schneemelcher (ed.), vol. 2, Westminster Press, 1965, pp. 276–322. A translation of the *Passio* is in A. Roberts and J. Donaldson (eds.), *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 8, Eerdmans 1951, pp. 477–485.

⁸ Th. Graesse (ed.), *Jacobi a Voragine. Legenda Aurea*, [1890]. Osnabrück, reprint. 1969. A translation into English is in, W. G. Ryan (trans.), *Jacobus de Voragine. The Golden Legend. Readings on the Saints*, vol. 1, Princeton 1992, pp. 340–350.

Acta Petri, Simon Magus and Simon Peter hold a public debate in the presence of a large crowd. It is there, in the middle of the throng, that Simon Magus announced that the next day he will "fly up to God".⁹ In the *Passio* the dispute unfolds in the presence of the Emperor Nero and a throng of people. Furthermore, the apostle Paul, unlike in the *Acta Petri*, accompanies Peter at every step of the ensuing dispute. The *Passio* has Simon Magus complaining that he wished to be separated from "these madmen". He also boasts that he will do so by performing an extraordinary miracle to prove the veracity of his claim to have the "Power of God". Simon Magus asked Nero to order a high tower constructed so that from there he could leap and fly in the air with the aid of angels sent by God.¹⁰ Nero, not able to resist his zeal, ordered the tower built in the *Campus Martius* and issued a decree demanding that the common people and prominent citizens be present.¹¹ The *Acta Petri* mentions a "high place" upon which Simon Magus stood, but there is no detailed description of a high tower made of wood. Moreover, it identifies the place of confrontation as the *Sacra Via* in Rome ("Alia autem die turba magna conuenit ad platea quae dicitur sacra uia, ut uideret eum uolantem", *Acta Petri*, 32.4–5, p. 83). The *Acta Petri* notes that it is only after Peter arrived in Rome that Simon Magus stood on the 'high place' from where he denounced Peter and then proceeded to fly. Simon Magus was seen by all at Rome as he flew over its temples and hills and those who followed Peter awaited the apostle to do something against him.¹²

In the *Passio*, Nero is presented as being fully in control of the duel between the apostles Peter and Paul and the magician. Nero, for example, ordered Peter and Paul to present themselves the next

⁹ Sed crastina die volabo ad dominum cuius ego uirtutem noui, quia uos caecidistis me, et ego uado ad patrem omnium et dico illi: 'Iniuriam mihi fecerunt filii tui; ego ad te ideo reuersus sum', *Acta Petri*, 31.30–31 and 1–3, pp. 81–83.

¹⁰ Simon dixit: Iube turrim excelsam fieri ex lignis et trabibus magnis, ut ascendam in illam; et cum in illam ascendero, angeli mei ad me in aera uenient: non enim in terra inter peccatores ad me uenire possunt. Nero dixit. Volo uidere, si imples quod dicis, *Passio*, 50.4–8, p. 163.

¹¹ Tunc Nero praecepit in campo Martio turrim excelsam fieri et praecepit ut omnes populi et omnes dignitates ad istud spectaculum conuenirent, *Passio*, 51.9–11, p. 163.

¹² En subito in alto uisus est omnibus uidentibus in tota urbe sup omnia templa et montes. respiciens autem Petrus et ipse mirabatur talem uisum, *Acta Petri*, 32. 11–13, p. 83.

day for the contest. The apostle Paul, then, told Peter that he will bend the knee and pray for Peter as they await to see what Simon Magus will do. Simon Magus not only promised Nero that he would expose the apostles as frauds, but he would even give Nero the power to fly as well. Nero much like an excited adolescent hastily responded, "do quickly what you have just said".¹³

The *Acta Petri* relates that Peter called upon God to remove Simon's power (demonic) so as to make him fall. Peter also petitioned God that Simon Magus be crippled only, not die, and that he break his legs in three places.¹⁴ After the fall, the people threw stones at Simon Magus as they chased him out of town. Some of his followers carried him wounded on a stretcher to the outskirts of Rome to a place called *Arícia*. Immediately he was taken to a sorcerer/physician named Castor. Castor without delay performed an unsuccessful surgery on Simon Magus that resulted in his death. The narrative closes morbidly, "the angel of the devil ended his life".¹⁵

In the *Passio* Simon Magus climbed the tower wearing a laurel on his head and then began to fly over the crowd. Nero was so dazzled by the feat that he taunted Peter and Paul and accused them of being deceivers. Peter undaunted rebuked Nero while a tearful Paul implored Peter to do something about this mocking display of demonic power. Peter looked up at the airborne Simon Magus, rebuked the angels of Satan and commanded them to release him at once. The demons immediately were rendered powerless, they let Simon Magus loose and the magician fell on the pavement in the place called *Sacra Vía*. The *Passio* adds the detail that Simon Magus was 'divided' into four parts and perished.¹⁶ After this incident Nero

¹³ Simon dixit: Vt scias, imperator, istos fallaces esse, mox ut in caelum ascendere mittam ad te angelos meos et faciam te ad me uenire. Nero dixit: Fac ergo, quae dicis, *Passio*, 53.8–10, p. 165.

¹⁴ Citius ergo, domine, fac gratiam tuam et ostende omnibus qui me adtendunt uirtutem tuam. Sed non peto ut moriatur, sed aliquid in membris suis uexetur. Et continuo caecidit ad terram, fregit crus in tres partes. tunc eum lapadantes omnes fidentes et conlaudantes dominum, *Acta Petri*, 32.17–21, p. 83.

¹⁵ Simon autem male tractatus inuenit qui eum tollerent in grauato extra Romam Aricia. et ibi paucos dies fecit et inde tultus est quasi exiliaticum ab urbe nomine Castorem Terracina. et ibi duo medici concidebant eum, extremum autem die angelum satanae fecerunt et expiraret, *Acta Petri*, 32.4–9, p. 85.

¹⁶ Et continuo dimissus cecidit in locum qui Sacra Vía dicitur, et in quattuor partes fractus quattuor silices adunauit, qui sunt ad testimonium uictoriae apostolicae usque in hodiernum diem, *Passio*, 56.9–12, p. 167.

ordered Peter and Paul arrested. He also commanded that the body of Simon Magus be kept for three days believing that he would rise from the dead, as predicted by the magician. Peter denounced Nero for believing that Simon Magus would rise from the dead and he told the Emperor that Simon Magus was condemned to suffer eternal punishment. The entire episode was an ill-fated attempt by Simon Magus to replicate the resurrection of Jesus Christ.¹⁷

The *Passio* and *Acta Petri* although differing considerably in numerous details they likewise share common basic features in the retelling of this encounter between Peter and Simon Magus. They both have Simon Magus flying about over Rome mocking the apostles, Peter's prayer bringing him down, and in the end he not only dies a shameful death, he is exposed as a demonic fraud. In both versions of the story the setting is in the city of Rome, the seat of the Chief Apostles, Peter and Paul. After the encounter, the *Passio* and *Acta Petri* relate the events leading up to the martyrdom of Peter and Paul at the hands of Nero.

The major striking differences are:

Passio

- 1) Peter and Paul prominent
- 2) Debate takes place in the presence of Nero and a crowd
- 3) Simon Magus wears a laurel
- 4) Simon Falls, breaks into four parts and dies
- 5) Name place *Aricia* not mentioned
- 6) The place where Simon Magus dies is called *Sacra Via*

Acta Petri

- 1) Paul is absent
- 2) Nero is absent, but a large crowd present
- 3) Simon Magus does not wear a laurel
- 4) Simon Magus falls and breaks a leg in three places, but survives
- 5) He is carried to a place called *Aricia*
- 6) Simon Magus dies after being operated by a sorcerer/physician Castor

¹⁷ Tunc Nero teneri fecit Petrum et Paulum in uinculis; corpus autem Simonis iussit diligenter tribus diebus custodiri; putans eum resurgere tertia die. cui Petrus dixit: Hic iam non resurget, quoniam uere mortuus est et in aeterna poena dampnatus, *Passio*, 57.13-17, p. 167.

Jacobus of Voragine in the *Golden Legend* related this episode in the section dedicated to the life of Peter, and although he used the *Acta Petri* and the *Passio* his own account contains a number of adaptations. After having spent a year in hiding, as a result of a public humiliation brought on by Peter, Simon Magus appeared in public again to challenge the apostle. Simon Magus wasted no time to befriend Nero. He declared to Nero that on an appointed day he would ascend to heaven, because he no longer wanted to remain on earth.¹⁸ When that day arrived he climbed a high tower, jumped off, and began to fly. Jacobus interjected that, according to Pope Linus, Simon Magus went to the top of the Capitol at Rome wearing a crown of laurel.¹⁹ Paul, then, told Peter that while he prayed it was up to Peter to put to an end to this unseemly spectacle. Paul rebuked Nero by affirming the truthfulness of Peter while at the same time accused Simon Magus and his followers of being seducers [sorcerers]. At that moment Peter called upon Paul, "raise your head and look up". Paul, upon seeing Simon Magus flying about, cried out to Peter to finish what the Lord had called them to do: to cause the Fall of Simon Magus. Peter commanded the demons of Satan in the name of Jesus Christ to release Simon Magus. At once, the demons released him, he crashed to the ground where he fractured his skull and died.²⁰

The *Golden Legend* account while it has obvious similarities to the *Passio* and *Acta Petri* it also contains some striking differences. As in the *Passio*, Peter and Paul are present and once again Peter is given the preeminent role while Paul is depicted as a subordinate. The debate unfolds in the court of Nero before a crowd, but unlike the *Passio*, the Emperor is less in control to the point of almost being a passive observer. The *Passio* and the *Golden Legend* report that Simon Magus wore a laurel, whereas the *Acta Petri* is silent about this detail.

¹⁸ Symon igitur, ut refert Leo, populum convocavit et se Galilaeis graviter offensum perhibuit et ideo urbem quam tueri solebat, se deserere velle dixit et diem statuere, quae coelum deberet adscendere, quia non dignabatur in terris amplius habitare, *Legenda Aurea*, 89, p. 373.

¹⁹ Statuto igitur die turrim excelsam vel, secundum Linum, Capitolium adscendit et inde se dejiciens coronatus lauro volare coepit, *Legenda Aurea*, 89, p. 373. In the *Passio* we read, Tunc ascendit Simon in turrim coram omnibus, et extensis manibus coronatus lauro coepit volare, 54.11–12, p. 165.

²⁰ Tunc Petrus ait: adjuro vos, angeli Sathanae, qui eum in aera fertis, per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, ut ipsum amplius non feratis, sed corruere dimittatis: et continuo dimissus corruit et confractis cervicibus exspiravit, *Legenda Aurea*, 89, pp. 373–374.

The *Golden Legend's* description of the events leading to the death of Simon Magus is a clear departure from the *Passio* and the *Acta Petri* at certain junctures. The *Acta Petri* mentions a 'high place', but the *Passio* and the *Golden Legend* identify a high tower as the place from which Simon Magus launched himself. The *Golden Legend* relates that according to Pope Linus, it was the Capitol at Rome that was the 'high tower'. It is regarding the death of Simon Magus where the *Golden Legend* is dissimilar to our other two accounts. Simon Magus hits the pavement and cracks his skull. Whereas Simon Magus dies on the *Sacra Via* in the *Passio*, and at the hands of the sorcerer/physician Castor in the *Acta Petri*. In the *Golden Legend* we are to assume that Simon Magus perished at the foot of the Capitol.

There are several telling details about the relief in the Cathedral of Oviedo which suggest that the *Golden Legend* was the primary source utilized by the artists. Even so, the relief contains a wide array of fascinating features which the artists liberally incorporated.

The relief sets the entire episode at the court of Nero who is seated on his throne presiding, as it were, at a tournament or a formal public debate. In the background are two large structures which Germán Ramallo Asensio believes to be buildings from Oviedo, although he does not identify any of them, and it is perhaps because they simply are no longer standing in the city.²¹ It appears that in the relief Simon Magus has leaped from one of the buildings in harmony with the *Golden Legend's* version which states that the Capitol was the place where the 'flight' began (*Statuto igitur die turrim excelsum vel, secundum Linum, Capitolium adscendit et inde se dejiciens coronatus lauro volare coepit*).²² A crowd of people are gathered at the foot of the relief exuding amazement and wonder at the events unfolding before them. There is even a child rushing to its mother's arms for comfort. One man at the center is literally running to get out of the place where Simon Magus is about to crash. Only one person, a woman on a stretcher, has the head turned in adoration toward Peter. We are left to conclude that the rest of the personages are followers of Simon Magus now in a state of panic as they watch their leader fall from the sky. In the end, if we recall, all of the people with the exception of Nero abandoned Simon Magus to

²¹ Ramallo Asensio, *Escultura barroca*, p. 476.

²² Graesse, *Legenda Aurea*, 89, p. 373.

follow Peter. On the left side of the panel the Holy Spirit, in the form of a dove, illuminates and empowers Peter's words against the demons. The person accompanying Peter, who is recording the entire episode in a book, has a dog-like creature at his feet (see figure 6). This person in the *Passio* is the apostle Paul, as we noted earlier, and he is invariably placed in a subordinate role to Peter. Germán Ramallo Asensio is of the opinion that the creature at Peter's feet is a dog that is biting his cloak.²³ This interpretation is suspect since it does not correspond to the overall series of events in the relief, nor any of the literary sources. The alleged dog at the outset has a rather pleasant disposition, nor is it biting or aggressively attacking the apostle Paul. Moreover, the left side of the relief where Peter and Paul are congregated contains all of the symbolic images of light and righteousness; that is, the Apostles, the Church, and the Holy Spirit (see figure 6). This is hardly the place for the artists to have positioned a ravenous animal, a symbol of evil, attacking an apostle.

There are other possible alternate explanations about the purpose of this animal in the relief. In the *Acta Petri*, the section prior to this confrontation narrates the well known encounter between Simon Magus and Peter that involves a hostile dog which the magician used against Peter. In brief, the hostile dog is not only pacified by Peter, it also abandoned Simon Magus altogether. The dog in the relief may well be an allusion to the pacified canine now in the service of the apostle Peter. The canine account in the *Passio* is most assuredly not a source for the relief, if indeed this animal is a dog. In that story several dogs are conjured up magically by Simon Magus to maul Peter. The apostle thwarted the attack by offering the dogs blessed bread which upon consumption instantly caused them to disappear into thin air.²⁴ A second interpretation of the animal in the relief, the one I am inclined to support, is that the animal in the relief is not a dog, but rather a lion. Jacobus of Voragine identified Pope Leo at the beginning and at the end of this section of the *Golden Legend* as the main source of his information.²⁵ The lion in the relief is very likely a symbolic reference to Pope Leo (lion) as

²³ Ramallo Asensio, *Escultura barroca*, p. 476.

²⁴ A full treatment is in A. Ferreiro, *Simon Magus, Dogs, and Simon Peter*, in *The Devil, Heresy, and Witchcraft in the Middle Ages: Essays in honor of Jeffrey B. Russell* (Cultures, Beliefs, and Traditions, 6) A. Ferreiro (ed.), Brill 1998, pp. 45–89, ill.

²⁵ Graesse, *Legenda Aurea*, 89, pp. 373–374.

the literary source through which the account, as recorded initially by Paul, was transmitted to posterity and consequently to Jacobus. It was in all likelihood believed that Paul initially recorded the events, that Pope Leo transcribed them, and that Jacobus received this apostolic source through this transmission.

The demons accompanying Simon Magus are shown at the moment in which the prayers of Peter have effectively rendered them powerless. In the *Passio*, *Acta Petri*, and the *Golden Legend* the demons are ordered by Peter to release Simon Magus. In the relief, however, the artists portray the demons not just releasing Simon Magus, they are also attacking and punishing him as they are obviously pushing the magician downward with their sharp forks (see figure 7). Furthermore, the two demons in the back seem to be pushing on Simon Magus's feet while the two demons up front are shoving his back and head with their feet (see figure 8). The artists, more so than the literary apocryphal texts or even the *Golden Legend*, captured the demon's betrayal of Simon Magus. This is a well known theme in medieval diabolology.²⁶

Another novelty of the Oviedo relief is the apparent affinity between Nero and the demons. Again, this is a relationship that does not clearly emerge in the narratives. It is difficult to determine, but Nero seems to be either receiving or delivering a scepter from one of the demons, who is wickedly smiling back at the Emperor (see figure 8). The scepter appears to symbolize the 'powers' that the Magus had received from the Evil One to deceive the Emperor and the people. The relief shows through the scepter the shared power and collaboration between Nero and the demons who will now use his temporal power to do the Devil's bidding, the martyrdom of Peter and Paul. The Oviedo relief, let us recall, contains the martyrdom of Peter (see figure 5).

In any case, the scepter between the two accentuates the close relationship of Simon Magus, Nero, and the Devil through the demonic servants. This dubious partnership between Simon Magus and Nero emerges very clearly in the literary accounts. There does exist in medieval theology and art a diabolical type of Nero which associates him with the company of reprobates.²⁷ Another observation

²⁶ See, for example, J. B. Russell, *Lucifer. The Devil in the Middle Ages*, Cornell, 1984.

²⁷ See the article by G. Henderson, *The damnation of Nero, and related themes*, in *The*

about Nero, as depicted in the literary texts, is that he also appears consistently betraying his loyalty to the apostles as he demonstrates his favoritism towards Simon Magus.

Another tantalizing feature about one of the demons at the head of the pack in the upper left hand section of the relief merits further commentary. The demon is holding an object in its hand that is not very clearly identifiable. At first glance, it appears to be almost a hammer like object used by the demon to pounce upon Simon Magus's head. However, it may well be the laurel—a crown of sorts—that Simon Magus is said to have worn as told in the *Passio* and the *Golden Legend*. The removal of the laurel is yet another representation of the defrocking of Simon Magus's powers as is also true of the scepter that we have already mentioned. The Oviedo relief is not the only artistic rendition which depicts the removal/ or falling off of the laurel.²⁸ The Oviedo relief is unique in that here a demon has deliberately snatched the laurel from Simon's head rather than it flying off as a result of his falling to earth. The laurel is intended, moreover, to be a symbolic mockery of the crown of thorns that Christ wore as part of his painful acts of suffering to effect the redemption of humankind. The artists of the Oviedo relief once again captured in dramatic fashion the superiority of Peter's apostolic authority over and against the pretentious powers of the magician.

It seems rather certain, in view of thematic representation of the apocryphal episode in the Oviedo relief, that the artists were influenced by the *Passio* version as transmitted by Jacobus Voragine in the *Golden*

Vanishing Past. Studies of Medieval Art, Liturgy and Metrology presented to Christopher Hohler, (ed.) Alan Borg and Andrew Martindale (BAR International Series, 111) Oxford, 1981, pp. 39–51, ill.

²⁸ For other examples of Simon Magus iconography depicting him with a laurel see S. Clément et A. Guitard, *Vitraux de Bourges. Vitraux du XIII^e siècle de la cathédrale de Bourges*, Bourges, 1900, p. 53, plate 15 where in the center panel the laurel of Simon Magus is clearly falling off; F. Bucher, *The Pamplona Bibles*, 2 vols., Facsimile edition, Yale University Press, 1970, 2: plate 461 presents him still wearing a laurel on his head as he crashes into the pavement; H. Rode, *Die mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien des Kölner Domes*. Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi, Deutschland Band, IV 1: Köln-Berlin, 1974, plates 533 and 538 depict his laurel falling off at the moment of release by the demons; L. Eleen, *The illustration of the Pauline epistles in French and English Bibles of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries*, Oxford, 1982, plates 30, 33, and 35 show him before the laurel is taken away; finally, S. Lewis, *Tractatus adversus Judaeos in the Gulbenkian Apocalypse*, "Art bulletin", 68 (1986), 543–566, figure 20, p. 558 portrays Simon Magus wearing a laurel in the shape of a pointed cap identifying him as a Jew.

Legend. The relief is compelling testimony of the abiding endurance and central role of apocryphal legends in the Church as late as the seventeenth century. Similarly to literary texts, the artists employed by the Church in unhindered fashion and with great artistic license utilized canonical and apocryphal Christian texts. It once again confirms just how unthreatening to dogma these apocryphal Christian legends were perceived to be by the *Magisterium*. We should note that the artists did not decide completely on their own the content of the art reproduced in the Oviedo relief in the Cathedral, the major See of Asturias. The bishop of Oviedo and other officials of the Church undoubtedly had input and the final word on these matters, more so in a chapel dedicated to the Chief of the Apostles, St. Peter. It is also necessary to see this relief within the backdrop of the Catholic Reformation as a response to the Lutheran led Protestant attack of the doctrines and traditions upheld by the Roman Catholic Church. The Oviedo relief is an affirmation of St. Peter's primacy, the authority of the papacy specifically, and the *Magisterium* in general to interpret the doctrines and traditions of the Church.

In all of my inventory of images of Simon Magus and Peter together the Oviedo relief is the only one that I am aware of where a chapel dedicated to Peter draws its inspiration entirely from New Testament apocryphal legends. The role and place of Christian apocrypha in the literature and art of the Iberian Church is virtually unexplored. As such, the topic is an abundant research cornucopia awaiting intense scholarly attention.²⁹ The altar relief in the chapel at the Cathedral of Oviedo is a tantalizing example of the type of research that potentially lies ahead for medieval Iberianists.

²⁹ A new series of Spanish translations and commentaries of apocryphal texts is being carried out by the *Instituto Diocesano de Filología Clásica y Oriental* (Fundación San Justino, Madrid). To date these editions have appeared, J. González Núñez (ed.), *La leyenda del rey Abgar y Jesús. Orígenes del cristianismo en Edesa*, Apócrifos cristianos, 1, Madrid, 1995 and G. Aranda Pérez (ed.), *Domnicón de la Virgen. Relatos de la tradición copta* (Apócrifos cristianos, 2), Madrid, 1995.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

ARTISTIC REPRESENTATIONS OF SIMON MAGUS AND SIMON PETER IN THE *PRINCETON INDEX OF CHRISTIAN ART*: WITH UP-TO-DATE INVENTORY AND BIBLIOGRAPHY*

One of the most important collections of Christian art is undoubtedly the *Princeton Index of Christian Art* (hereafter = PICA) whose main headquarters is at Princeton University in the state of New Jersey U.S.A. While this collection is well known to art specialists, especially those in the history of art, it is one that nevertheless needs to be made known to historians of Christianity specifically and those who study world religions. This writer consulted a copy of the PICA for the first time in the summer of 1992 when it was located at the University of California in Los Angeles (UCLA). The 'Center of Medieval and Renaissance Studies' of the university awarded me a summer fellowship to spend six weeks researching the iconography of Simon Magus. Two years prior I commenced an ambitious project of finding all of the possible traditions about Simon Magus in the patristic and medieval eras. It all began as a result of a study that I carried out on St. Jerome on a portion of a letter in which he spoke about Simon Magus as being the founder of all heresies up to his day.¹ The research has produced much fruit as is evidenced

* The entries of the *Princeton Index* are reproduced such as they appear in the files that I consulted. I have attempted to bring the bibliographies as up-to-date as much as is possible. I would like to express my gratitude to the *Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies* in UCLA (University of California-Los Angeles, California) for the summer fellowship in 1992 to consult directly the *Princeton Index of Christian Art*. Also, to professors Thomas Ohlgren y Catherine Brown Tkacz for bibliographic information. To *Seattle Pacific University* for a travel subvention that made it possible for me to attend the congress in Ourense, Spain. I extend my thanks also to the Rev. Prof. Agustín Hevia Ballina for his kind invitation to the congress. I dedicate this study to the memory of my mother Beatriz for her tender love, *Requiescat in Pace*.

¹ See A. Ferreiro, "Jerome's polemic against Priscillian in his *Letter to Ctesiphon* (133,4)," *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 39 (1993) 309-332 and A. Ferreiro, "Sexual Depravity, Doctrinal Error, and Character Assassination in the fourth-century: Jerome against the Priscillianists," *Studia Patristica* 28 (1993) 29-38.

by the studies that I have since then published and which are now gathered together in this book. In this particular study, however, I center my attention on the artistic representations of Simon Magus as contained in the PICA that I initially consulted, but also the images that I have found elsewhere. In most cases the references, textual or artistic, to Simon Magus include Simon Peter. That means that most studies on the post-New Testament Christian apocryphal figure of Simon Magus are also as much about Simon Peter.

In this study I propose to accomplish two major goals. The first is to relate the history, organization, and content of the PICA for those who are not familiar with this great collection. When I initially presented this study in Ourense, Spain I intended to make this collection better known to my Spanish colleagues, who either had never heard about it or had only vague knowledge about its content. Even in this country it is still not as widely used or known as it ought to be. I was told when I went to UCLA that at that time I was the only person in years who had requested to work specifically in the collection. Second, to offer some observations about the Simon Magus images in the Index as it existed when I was there. Since the PICA is a work in progress I have every intention of sending a copy of this study for inclusion in their bibliographic inventory.

The PICA was founded by Professor Charles Rufus Morey (1877–1955) in 1917. This means that the collection is now eighty seven years old. Professor Morey was the successor as Chair in 1924 of Allan Marquand of the Department of Art and Archaeology at Princeton University. Morey taught at Princeton until his retirement in 1945. His graduate academic training took place at the University of Michigan where he obtained a Masters degree. Before going to Princeton in 1906 he studied at the prestigious American Academy in Rome. It was in 1910, however, when his interest in iconography surfaced together with the idea of a comprehensive collection of Christian art. It was during a trip to Paris that Morey consulted an art index, that no longer exists, that sparked the idea of establishing something similar in the United States. Once at Princeton he wasted no time in beginning the project by placing the first files literally in two shoe boxes. Known for his modesty he never claimed to be the founder of a unique Index of Christian Art since he knew that such collections already existed in Europe. It is true, however, that none of the existing indexes at that time came even close to encompassing the vision and scope that Morey intended for the one

at Princeton. He was convinced that all of the history of medieval art could only be understood through the history and development of iconographic themes beginning with early Christianity, including its Greek and Roman foundations.

Initially the team that worked on the PICA limited itself to collecting items from before 700 A.D. Later on as the collection grew it was decided to establish the *terminus* to the year 1400. Recently, however, the decision has been made to extend it further to the end of the sixteenth century in view of the incorporation into the PICA of the collection from the Morgan Library, New York among others. Even though this work has been active for many decades the Index is hardly anywhere near completion. It is estimated that on an annual basis about 2,000 new items are added to the collection. The PICA has long since grown out of those two initial shoe boxes to a specially designed facility in McCormick Hall within the Department of Art and Archaeology at Princeton University.

The first artistic objects that were catalogued were Christian sarcophagi that were organized by Alison Smith y Charles MacDonald, from 1920 to 1933 with the use of volunteer help. The director of the PICA Helen Woodruff—tenure from 1933 to 1942—has the honor of having established a standard bibliographic format that is still used today. Her rigorous methodology has since that time been imitated by numerous archives around the world. From 1942 to 1951 William L. M. Burke was the director, followed by Rosalie B. Green (1951–1982), subsequently by Nigel Morgan (1982–1988), and Brendan Cassidy (1988–1995). In 1997 the current director Colum Hourihane assumed the leadership. Those who wish to learn more about the history of the study of art and archaeology at Princeton University and a general overview of the study of art in the United States are urged to consult respectively the works of: Marilyn Lavin, *The Eye of the Tiger: The Founding and Development of the Department of Art and Archaeology, 1883–1923, Princeton University*. (Princeton 1983) and Craig Hugh Smyth y Peter Lukehart, *The Early Years of Art History in the United States*. (Princeton 1993).

Currently four copies of the PICA exist outside of Princeton for consultation in Europe and in North America. The first external copy was established in 1940 in the prestigious center for Byzantine studies, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and the Collection of Harvard University in Washington D.C. In 1951 Cardinal Spellman of New York presented a copy to Pope Pius XII who deposited it

in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana in Rome where it resides today. The third was acquired in 1962 by the Rijksuniversiteit of Utrecht. The fourth copy was available for consultation in the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) until 1992 after which it was transferred to the Getty Research Institute in Los Angeles, California. All of the copies are brought up to date annually in conjunction with the principal collection at Princeton.

I would like now to make some precise remarks about the content of the collection. Even though the main inventory has been extended to the year 1400, and in the case of the abundant manuscripts of the Morgan Library to the end of the sixteenth century, another important characteristic is that up to now the majority of the images are from the West. The indexes are organized into sixteen distinct artistic mediums. Some of these are: manuscripts, sculpture, painting, glass, metal, and so on. By 1955 when the founder Morey had passed away the Index contained almost 500,000 catalogued items and close to 100,000 photographs. Currently researchers have access to approximately 200,000 photographs, from eastern and western Christendom, from the time of the apostles to 1400. The designation of 'Christian' is not conceived only from the perspective of a work produced exclusively within a theological and ecclesiastical context. For example, images from an era or a context not strictly Christian, that is of Greco-Roman pagan theme, but found in a Christian environment are included under that rubric. One recalls for example the Late Roman sarcophagi wherein there is a mixing of both pagan and Christian symbols. An electronic file of photographs was not established until 1991 and is therefore a work in progress; the textual material, however, in its entirety may be accessed electronically.

The PICA has been organized into two larger files. The first contains approximately 200,000 photographs classified in 5×8 cards with a brief description of the content of the image. Each card also identifies the artistic medium, the place in which it is found—city, book, etc. The same card indicates for the researcher where the image is situated in the second collection that is organized by subject. The Subject Index that is cross listed with the photographs index is stored in 3×5 cards. All are catalogued in alphabetical order beginning with Alpha and Omega and ending with Zwentibold of Lorraine (a bishop from the 10th century). Within these two collections there are over 26,000 distinct subject classifications. In each instance the principal image is described while at the same time indi-

cating if a similar piece exists elsewhere. To provide further depth to the research a second index of secondary subjects in separate files has been created to facilitate the work of those who consult the PICA.

The web-site of the PICA from which much of this information has been derived offers an example of a specific catalogued entry intended to orient the potential researcher. In the Subject Index entries are classified individually in five different categories: **FIGURES:** History, literature, legends, and myths, including subjects such as bishops, falcons, dancers, people, and saints. **SCENES:** Ecclesiastical, historical, liturgical, secular, sports and games, and professions. **NATURE:** Animals, rivers, flora and fauna, etc. **OBJECTS:** Every type of object, secular and sacred. For example, musical instruments, clothing, furniture, etc. **MISCELLANEOUS:** Symbols such as: the hand of God, the zodiac, monograms, etc. In every instance the entries include the bibliography from the Subject Index.

Now that we are living in the age of the internet we have greater access to bibliographical collections on a worldwide scale and fortunately the PICA is within easy reach electronically. One should bear in mind, as I indicated above, that the electronic file is incomplete, although the goal is to make it complete and up to date. The electronic PICA was inaugurated in 1991 utilizing the software **ALEPH** for libraries that was created by a team of researchers at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. The **ALEPH** program puts within reach of the researcher over 150 different categories of information to enter into the collection. This database aside from including the name of the artist, title of the work, art medium, and its provenance, includes bibliography from the PICA research team. This particular index is more comprehensive in its information than the textual entries found in the actual collection. Moreover, so as to augment the capacity for consultation the **ICONCLASS CLASSIFICATION SYSTEM** has been incorporated but in a limited way. Virtually all of the Subject Index has been synchronized with **ICONCLASS**. Those who desire to access this database must contact directly the 'Center of the Index of Christian Art' at Princeton University.

Likewise since 1991 when the internet PICA was inaugurated one is able to consult it via the World Wide Web. From 1991 onward all of the new material has been added to the site along with much of the preexisting material. Even though this collection is incomplete

it is still nevertheless the largest collection of its kind for Christian art from apostolic times to 1400. At present it has 23,000 works of art and about 18,000 bibliographical references, and 27,165 items for the Subject Index. By means of the Web more than 8,000 art images from collections in addition to the PICA and the Morgan Library are from the Dumbarton Oaks, Art Institute of London, the James Austin Photographic Collection—Cambridge, England, and some private collections. Researchers are required to obtain all of the necessary copyright privileges from the pertinent institution before reproducing them in any way. It is permitted from the web site to print out for personal use only. Individual researchers need to contact directly the director of PICA at Princeton University about the subscription rates for use of the electronic collection. The cost for institutions is \$1,500.00 per annum. The address is: Dr. Colum Hourihane, Director, Index of Christian Art, McCormick Hall, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ 08544-1018 U.S.A. e-mail cph@Princeton.edu (Fax 609-258-0103), (Telephone 609-258-6363). The PICA is open all year to the public. During the academic year it is open from 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. Monday through Friday. From the middle of June to the middle of September the hours are 9:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. The PICA is closed on weekends, all national holidays, and two weeks for Christmas. In no case whatsoever are the original photographs in the archive loaned out. Only copies are allowed by request with a fee. For those who are interested there exists a Newsletter' of the PICA that announces information of interest to those working in the Index and about art and iconography from around the world. In October 1999 the highly regarded journal *Studies in Iconography*, which previously had been at the Cistercian Studies Institute, Western Michigan University was placed under the auspices of the PICA. The journal has been in publication for about 22 years. It publishes studies on any topic of art up to the year 1600.

The addresses of the other copies of the PICA are: Index of Christian Art, Dumbarton Oaks, 1703 32nd St. N.W. Washington D.C. 20007 U.S.A.; The Getty Research Institute, 1200 Getty Center Drive, Suite 1100, Los Angeles, CA 90049-1688 U.S.A. (previously at UCLA); Index of Christian Art, Library, Faculty of Arts, Utrecht University, Drift 27, 3512 BR, Utrecht, Netherlands; and Indice di Arte Cristiana, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 00120 Vatican City, Rome, Italy.

In this last section my focus is upon the images of Simon Magus and Simon Peter in PICA that reflect a diversity of traditions that were extensively diffused across the centuries even into the Early Modern era.² Those beyond the eighteenth century and to the present day are not included since as we have indicated that the PICA extends to 1400 with the exception of the Morgan Collection that ends at 1600. I also include in the artistic inventory samples that are not in the PICA who together amount to a total of 99 artistic works. A careful consideration of the content demonstrates that the images were executed in a broad range of mediums and originated from many of the principal countries of Europe. Some are currently in collections in the United States. I have no doubt that there are still more images of Simon Magus that are not in the PICA and in this inventory. Let us recall that the PICA collection depends totally upon researchers to send them additional works of art to be appended to the overall collection.

Let us first consider the images that have Simony as their focus. In several instances, primarily in cathedrals, Saint Peter is shown standing with Simon Magus under his feet (The numbers hereafter refer to the inventory provided in this study: See numbers 1, 2, 3, y 4). In the case of Chartres (no. 2) the Fall of Simon Magus is included. In Münster (no. 4) the apostles Peter and Paul are united, a scene no doubt inspired by the *Passio sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli* (*Passio*) and by the *Actus Petri cum Simone* wherein Peter in most of the narrative acts alone against Simon Magus. In manuscript illuminations (nos. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13) Simon Peter is trampling Simon Magus and in two from Moscow and Mount Athos, Greece (nos. 7 y 8), one is able to observe the money from the 'simony' on the ground. The art piece from Strasbourg (no. 13) shows clearly a scene inspired y the Acts of the Apostles (8: 9–25) at the moment in which Simon Magus offers Saint Peter money.

The images in numbers 15 to 27 in most cases depict the apostles Peter and Paul debating with Simon Magus in the presence of the Emperor Nero; based upon the text of the *Passio* that Jacobus of Voragine in the *Golden Legend* made widely popular in the late Middle

² A panorama of the traditions is found in A. Ferreiro, "Simon Magus: The patristic-medieval traditions and historiography," *Apocrypha* 7 (1996) 147–165.

Ages.³ The work found in Barcelona (no. 24) highlights in the principal section Saint Peter seated on his 'Cathedra' to affirm the triumph of Peter and that of his successors, the popes. The frescos in the Chiesa di Costanza (no. 26) unfortunately do not exist, but there is the possibility that there are drawings archived in a collection.

There are several artistic examples that represent rare or unique images of Simon Magus mainly drawn from incidents in the apocryphal stories. One of these, for example, is where Simon Magus is coupled with Gehazi (no. 28) who according to the Church Fathers was the Old Testament prototype of Simon Magus and 'simony.' This particular 'type' was inspired by the incident in the Old Testament found in 2 Kings 4: 12–31 and 5: 20–25, in which the servant of Elisha, Gehazi defrauded the prophet by accepting money for a miracle done by the prophet. Another is a statue with a relief in the Isola Tiberina (no. 29) that many scholars have interpreted to contain Simon Magus and Helena. This woman collaborator is found in the most ancient traditions of the post New Testament period and was commented upon frequently by the Church Fathers in their attack against Gnosticism. Two prominent writers were Justin Martyr and Irenaeus of Lyons who established permanently this tradition in their heresiological works. According to these exegetes Helena assumed the role of promoting a parallel female pseudo-apostolic succession to compliment or complete the male one by Simon Magus. In the fourth century Jerome and Vincent of Lérins in the fifth utilized this earlier tradition to attack the Priscillianist sect in Iberia and Gaul.⁴ Yet another singular image is to be found in Saint Père-de-Chartres (no. 30) in a window where Simon Magus is shown with a ram. As in the case of the two already mentioned I am not aware of any other image that relates this scene from the apocryphal Simon Magus

³ Two texts exist containing the apocryphal encounters of Simon Peter and Simon Magus. The first being the *Actus Petri cum Simone* and the second, *Passio sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli* (= *Passio*) in *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*. (eds.) R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet. (Leipzig 1891), pp. 45–103 and 119–177, respectively. See the comparative study of these two sources by A. Ferreiro, 'Simon Magus and Simon Peter in the *Acts of Peter* and the *Passion of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul*,' in *Pietro e Paolo Il loro rapporto con Roma nelle testimonianze antiche*. XXIX Incontro di studiosi dell'antichità cristiana. Roma, 4–6 maggio 2000. *Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum*, 74. (Roma 2001), pp. 41–66.

⁴ In addition to the studies in the first note, see A. Ferreiro, 'Simon Magus and Priscillian in the *Commonitorium* of Vincent of Lérins,' *Vigiliae Christianae* 49 (1995) 180–188.

tradition. Again, in the works of the Church Fathers against Gnostics, and specifically in the *Passio*, a great number of miracles—inspired by demonic powers—are attributed to Simon Magus.⁵ The ram, as is well known to iconographers, became in other contexts a symbol of the diabolical and witchcraft. Another rare episode in art is where Simon Magus and Simon Peter fight against each other by showing which of them had the power to raise from the dead a young man. The textual tradition predictably mentions that Simon Magus' efforts were fraudulent, a form of illusionism and not a real resurrection. Saint Peter, on the other hand, did manage to raise the young man from the dead through the power of the Holy Spirit and thus shows the superiority of his authority over the servant of the Devil, Simon Magus. This scene is found in the following: a manuscript from Prague (no. 31) a mosaic from Monreale Cathedral (no. 56) and two windows from the Cathedral of Bourges and Lyon, respectively (nos. 32 and 33), and also at St. Père-de-Chartres (no. 30) and Cathedral of St. Pierre, Troyes (no. 16).

There is no question that the most well known and remembered story is the Fall of Simon Magus as reflected in the abundant inventory of images in this study (nos. 35 to 99). For reasons of space I will not comment on every single entry. I have organized this section of the Fall of Simon Magus in the following groups of artistic medium: Sculpture and Reliefs (nos. 35 a 48), Windows (nos. 49 to 54), Frescos-Paintings-Mosaics (nos. 55 to 76) and Manuscript Illuminations-Textiles (nos. 77 to 91).

In this section I will speak only of those images that are unique to the collection including the new ones that I will send to Princeton. There are three crosses in Ireland from Market Square Kells, Castledermot, and Monasterboice (nos. 39 to 41) that are of great importance for the propagation of Simon Magus in that remote part of medieval Europe. In all three the apostles Peter and Paul use their pastoral croziers to bring Simon Magus down from the sky and to his death. What really stands out here is the emphasis upon the apostolic authority of the bishops in general and that of Saint

⁵ Consult A. Ferreiro, "Typological Portraits of Simon Magus in anti-Gnostic Sources," *Plenitudo Temporis. Miscelánea Homenaje al Prof. Dr Ramón Trevijano Echeverría*. Bibliotheca Salmanticensis, Estudios 249. Salamanca: Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, 2002, pp. 363-378.

Peter specifically. These images of both apostles acting with such authority must be contextualized with the literary legends in Ireland that highlight the authority of Peter as is reflected in the apocryphal texts that inspired the images. A unique piece in the north of Europe is a baptismal fountain in Valleberga, Sweden (no. 44). A splendid and well preserved relief is in the Cathedral of Oviedo, Spain (no. 47) that is in a chapel dedicated to St. Peter in a group of semi-circular chapels in the ambulatory surrounding the central altar. The chapel features the inverted crucifixion of Peter and a complete depiction of the confrontation of Peter and Paul before Nero and the Fall of Simon Magus with grotesque demons attacking him on the way down. Another unique example is at Yale University (no. 69) that has the distinction of being one of the few, if not the only image, where the Blessed Virgin Mary is present with Peter and Paul at the time of the Fall of Simon Magus. A manuscript illumination of the famous Apocalypse text named *Tractatus adversus Judaeos*, (no. 77) in the Gulbenkian Museum in Lisbon exhibits strong anti-Semitic symbols and serves notice as to how diverse was the utilization of the figure of Simon Magus to censure Jews, magicians, and heretics. Our last example is the textile image in a chasuble from the 11th–12th century in the treasury of the Cathedral of Bamberg (no. 79) that as far as I know is the only one of its kind in this medium.

The images of Simon Magus found in manuscripts reveal both the great diversity of literary genre and geographical provenance. Representative are the *Antiphonary* of Prüm (no. 81), in a book of *Lives of the Saints* from Amiens (no. 82), another in the *Sacramentary* of Fulda in Göttingen (no. 83), in the *Psalter* of Queen Mary of England (no. 84) now deposited in the British Museum, a *Commentary on the Epistles* by Peter Lombard (no. 86), a *Missal* from Stammheim (no. 87), and lastly the *Breviary* of Chertsey Abbey, England (no. 90). What then is the significance of this partial inventory? It demonstrates clearly as stated the immense geographic and literary extension of these apocryphal stories and the major influence they exercised in the Middle Ages. It is evident as research into Christian Apocrypha advances that in the post-New Testament eras they left a deep imprint in the memory of the Church and hence upon society. I would like to note that the tradition about the struggle between Simon Magus and Simon Peter in Rome and the subsequent martyrdom of Peter and Paul at the orders of Nero rests on solid historical ground and did indeed occur somewhere between A.D. 64–67. Even though the

events are related in apocryphal texts that have been greatly embellished in no way diminishes the core historical framework.

The last images that I wish to comment upon and that have occupied my scholarly interest, as one of the chapters in this book reflects, are those of Simon Magus, dogs, and Simon Peter. Four sarcophagi all dating from the fourth century either originate or are presently kept in Verona, Mantua, Nîmes, and Poland (nos. 92 to 95). The one at Nîmes is presently considered lost but there is every possibility that it is simply in an unknown location. E. Le Blant who to date produced the only known analysis of this piece established beyond any doubt that this relief was sculpted in Italy. The one that is presently in Poland has also been identified as Italian in origin and dates to the same century as those in Verona y Mantua. The scholars that have worked on all of these reliefs are of the opinion that Rome is where specifically they were all sculpted. This being so only reinforces the important role that the papacy in Rome had in promoting this tradition in which the anti-apostle Simon Magus was vanquished by Simon Peter from whom the legitimate apostolic succession originated. A relief in the Cathedral of San Pietro in Sessa Aurunca in Italy (no. 96) is by far one of the best preserved from the medieval period and the most commented upon by modern scholars as the bibliography in this chapter attests. The exquisite fresco in Mûstair Switzerland (no. 97), although in a somewhat poor state of conservation, has been carefully researched for the simple reason that it is a rare image originating from the Alps. The *Passional* of the Biblioteca Vaticana (no. 98) has a splendid image of the scene and the only one that I have located in a manuscript illumination. Finally, the frescos completely lost in the Church of Saint Peter [San Piero a Grado] (no. 99) fortunately have been preserved in drawings that reproduce in sufficient detail the content of the original. The scene with dogs is also found in the Cathedral of Notre Dame, Chartres (no. 2) and again in drawings in the Biblioteca Vaticana, *Codice Barberiniano*, from the Old Basilica of St. Peter, Rome (no. 80). Coupled with the sarcophagi all of these images confirm the active role of the papacy in promoting the Petrine primacy of the bishops of Rome by showing Peter vanquishing the ravenous dogs of Simon Magus.

I wish to finish this brief survey of rich artistic inventory with some observations about iconographic research in Spain and its relationship to the PICA. Firstly, I believe that there should be a

concerted attempt to secure in the Iberian Peninsula a copy of the PICA as has been done in Utrecht and the Vatican, at the very least the electronic internet version at leading research centers. Likewise of importance is that there should be a closer collaboration between Iberian scholars of Christian art and the PICA with the goal of adding to the inventory art from the Iberian Peninsula. When I consulted the collection, such as it was in 1992, what caught my attention immediately was the near complete absence of art from Spain and Portugal. The vast majority of the art material in the collection originates from north of the Pyrenees. As I have become increasingly acquainted with Christian art of the Iberian Peninsula, especially that of apocryphal themes, the PICA such as the collection stands is in great need of this material to enhance its holdings. Equally relevant is the absence of the abundant artistic images of peninsular saints from Spain and Portugal. Researchers who are custodians of Iberian inventories need to make an effort to make their collections available to the PICA team in order to incorporate this material and make it accessible to the wider scholarly community. There exists, for example, a collection of art by the name of 'Benedicto Nieto' of several thousand images in the Archivo Histórico Diocesano in Oviedo, Spain that is not well known in the peninsula, and even less so externally. Having worked with this collection directly I know that some of the material is already in the PICA but there is much more that is absent. It would not be very difficult in this age of computer technologies to sift through the material and to send it to Princeton for unclusion. In this manner researchers of Christian art would have a wider representation of an image reflecting the whole of Europe without unnecessarily marginalizing the Iberian Peninsula. Likewise, peninsular scholars would have access to much scholarship that otherwise may not be within their reach and thus enriching their research endeavors. Concerning the apocryphal images of Simon Magus that I found in the PICA only two fare from Spain (Barcelona, nos. 24 and 67) and none whatsoever from Portugal. It is my intention with this study to initiate the process of reversing that deficiency in the collection. I offer from this study the examples from Coimbra (no. 15) and Oviedo (no. 47) as a modest beginning in that direction. It has also been brought to my attention by my friend and colleague Rev. Dr. Agustín Hevia Ballina (Oviedo) of a window in the Cathedral of León (no. 34) that as far as I know no study of substance had been done until the one I carried out and is now included

in this volume of essays. From an even wider geographical perspective there exist hundreds of Christian apocryphal images from all over Europe that are not in the PICA collection. I urge scholars who have this material to send them for inclusion in PICA for the benefit of the wider academic community. There is no excuse any longer with the communication technologies that we have to continue in mutual isolation or in withholding material from the community of scholars. Lastly, in so far as the Iberian Peninsula is concerned the corpus of Christian apocryphal images therein awaits exploitation.

Artistic Inventory

Simony

1. Cathedral of Notre Dame, Amiens. Exterior West portal embrasure. 13th cent. **Bibl:** G. Durand, *Monographie de l'église Notre-Dame. Cathédrale d'Amiens*. 2 vols. (Paris 1891–1893) 1:322–323; 2: plate 28. **(Saint Peter)**

2. Cathedral of Notre Dame, Chartres. Window, central apse, window 32, zones 10–36. (13th Century). Also: Exterior, south, portal central, embrasure L (Statue of Peter trampling Simon Magus). **Bibl:** Et. Houvet, *Cathédrale de Chartres. Portail Sud, XIII siècle*. Vol. 1. (Paris 1919) pp. 1–3, ill. P. Kidson and U. Pariser, *Sculpture at Chartres*. (London 1958) pp. 37–42, figure 95. W. Sauerländer, *Gothic sculpture in France 1140–1270*. Photos M. Hirmer. (New York 1972) p.432, plate 110. Y. Delaporte, *Les vitraux de la Cathédrale de Chartres. Histoire et description*. Vol. 1. (Chartres 1926) pp. 284–290, plate 88. **(Includes the Fall of Simon Magus)**

3. Cathedral of Notre Dame de la Couture, Le Mans. Exterior West, portal embrasure. 13th cent. **(Saint Peter)**

4. Münster Cathedral exterior portal. 14th cent. **(Statues of Peter and Paul)**

5. Cathedral of Notre Dame, Reims. Exterior North, Portal L, embrasures. 13th cent. **(Saint Peter over Simon Magus)**.

6. British Museum, London. Add 19.352. Theodore Psalter, fol. 66ro. ILL. MS 1066. (British Museum 1064). **Bibl:** Sirarpie der Nersessian, *L'Illustration des Psautiers Grecs du Moyen Age, II, Londres, add. 19.352*. Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques, 5. (Paris 1970) pp. 11–15, and 33. Fig. 107. **(Saint Peter trampling Simon Magus)**

7. Moscow Historical Museum. Gr. 129 Chludoff Psalter, fol. 51vo. ILL MS (9th cent.). **Bibl:** André Grabar, *L'Iconoclisme Byzantine. Dossier Archéologique*. Collège de France. (Paris 1957) pp. 198–199, 214–219. Figs. 152 and 154. (**Saint Peter trampling Simon Magus**)

8. Mount Athos Monastery, Greece. Pantokrator, 61. Psalter, fol. 64 ro. ILL. MS. (9th cent.). **Bibl:** Suzy Dufrenne, *L'Illustration des Psautiers grecs du Moyen Age. Pantocrator, 61, Paris Grec 20, British Museum 40731*. Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques, 1. (Paris 1966) pp. 15–19 and 26, fol. 64r. (**Saint Peter trampling Simon Magus**)

9. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. gr. 923. S. Parall, John of Damascus, fol. 146vo. ILL. MS. (9th cent.). (**Saint Peter trampling Simon Magus**)

10. Biblioteca Vaticana, Rome. Barb. gr. 372, Psalter, fol. 85ro. ILL. MS. (11th cent.). (**Saint Peter trampling Simon Magus**)

11. Biblioteca Vaticana, Rome. gr. 1927. Psalter, fol. 93ro. ILL. MS. (11th cent.). (**Saint Peter trampling Simon Magus**)

12. Vercelli, Archivio Capitolare Rotulus, Italy. ILL. MS. (9th cent.). **Bibl:** C. Cipolla, "La pergamena rapresentante le antiche pitture dell Basilica di S. Eusebio in Vercelli," *Miscellanea di Storia Italiana* 6 (1901) 3–12, plate 2. (**Saint Peter opposing Simon Magus**)

13. Strasbourg Library. Bible de la Ville. Herrad of [sic. Landsberg] Hohenbourg. Hortus Deliciarum, fol. 180vo and fol. 238ro. ILL. MS. (12th cent.). **Bibl:** Rosalie Green, (et al). *Herrad of Hohenbourg, Hortus Deliciarum*. 2 vols. Studies of the Warburg Institute, 36. J. B. Trapp (ed.). (Leiden 1979) 1:184, 2: 308, 369, 421–422, 442–444, 489, figure 262. (**Simon Magus offering money to Saint Peter**)

14. Bodleian Library, Oxford. Moralized Bible. 270 b. fol. 63vo; fol. 63 BB and fol. 60ro. ILL. MS. (13th cent.). **Bibl:** A de Laborde (ed.). *La Bible moralisée conservée a Oxford*. Vol. 3. (Paris-London 1913). (**Saint Peter rejects Simon Magus**)

Saint Peter Rejecting Simon Magus

15. Old Cathedral of Coimbra, Portugal. Side Altar Chapel. 16th Century white stone relief. The author inspected the relief and found it to be in a very bad state of composition. **Bibl:** Vergilio Correia and Nogueira Gonçalves, *Inventário Artístico de Portugal. Cidade de Coimbra*. Vol. 2. Lisboa, 1947, pp. 14–15, fig. LXXII. (**Dispute with Simon Magus**)

16. Cathedral of St. Pierre. Troyes, France. Window (13th Century). Bay II, Bay IV, Chappelle rayonnantes. **Bibl:** J. Lafond, "Les vitraux de la Cathédrale Saint-Pierre de Troyes," *Congrès archéologique de France* 113 (1955) 28–62. Charles Jean Ledit and André Marsat, *Cathédrale de Troyes, les vitraux*. Yonne: Les presses monastiques. 1972, pp. 103–104, [description with no images] (**Saint Peter rejecting Simon Magus and resurrecting a dead man**)

17. Church of St-Julien-du-Sault. Yonne, France. Window (13th Century). **Bibl:** Gabrielle Rheims, "L'église Saint-Julien-du-Sault et ses verrières." *Gazette des beaux arts* 14 (1926) 139–162, at p. 154 [description with no image provided] (**Saint Peter rejecting Simon Magus**)

18. Saint Gall Library, Stiftsbibliothek, 86, Pseudo-Clementis Recognitionum, p. 6. 9th–10th cent. **Bibl:** A. Bruckner (ed.), *Scriptoria Medii Aevi Helvetica. Denkmäler schweizerischer schreibkunst des mittelalters, III. Schreibschulen der Diözese Konstanz* St. Gallen, II. (Genf 1938) p. 66, plate 36. (**Saints Peter and Paul debating with Simon Magus**)

19. Dijon Museum. Plaque (12th–13th cent.). Dijon, 1250. (**Saints Peter and Paul debating with Simon Magus before Nero**)

20. Cathedral of Notre Dame, Rouen. Window, sacristy (13th cent.). **Bibl:** G. Ritter, *Lex vitraux de la Cathédrale de Rouen*. (Paris 1926) p. 49, planche 11. (**Saints Peter and Paul before Nero**)

21. Chiesa di San Pietro. Toscanella. Choir, Fresco (11th–12th) Wall S. zone 2. (**Peter and Paul accusing Simon Magus**)

22. Munich Library Staatsbibliothek. Cod. Lat. 13074, fol. 15vo. *Vitae et passiones apostolorum*. (11th–12th Centuries). **Bibl:** H. L. Kessler, "The meeting of Peter and Paul in Rome: An emblematic narrative of spiritual brotherhood," in *Studies on Art and Archaeology in Honor of Ernst Kitzinger on his seventy-fifth birthday*. (eds.) W. Tronzo and I. Lavin. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987) 265–275, fig. 7.

23. Munich Library Staatsbibliothek. Clm. 15713, Cim. 179, Pericope, fol. 40ro ILL. MS. (11th cent.). **Bibl:** Georg Swarzenski, *Die regensburger buchmalerei des X und XI Jahrhunderts*. (Leipzig 1901) p. 144, ill. No. 72. H. L. Kessler, "The meeting of Peter and Paul in Rome: An emblematic narrative of spiritual brotherhood," in *Studies on Art and Archaeology in Honor of Ernst Kitzinger on his seventy-fifth birthday*. (eds.) W. Tronzo and I. Lavin. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987) 265–275. (**Peter and Paul accusing Simon Magus**)

24. Museo de Bellas Artes, Barcelona. Frontal altar, painting (13th–14th cent.). **Bibl:** L. de Farcy, "Un retable, peint sur bois, du

commencement du XIII siècle,” *Revue de l’art chrétien* 30 (1887) 153–157. Ad. Jansen, *Art chrétien jusqu’à la fin du moyen âge*. Musées royaux d’art et d’histoire, Bruxelles. (Bruxelles 1964), pp. 52–53, figures 208–210. C. R. Post, *A History of Spanish Painting*. Vol. 2. (Harvard 1930) pp. 95–96. **(Peter seated on his Chair)**

25. British Museum, London. Harley 1526–1527. Bible Moralized, II, fol. 64vo. ILL. MS. (13th cent.). **Bibl:** A de Laborde (ed.). *La Bible moralisée conservée à Oxford*. Vol. 3. (Paris-London 1913). **(Simon Magus opposing Saint Peter)**

26. Chiesa Costanza, Rome. Aisle Frescos. (c. 1252) destroyed. [Drawings may exist]. **(Simon Magus opposing Saint Peter)**

27. Bibliothèque Geneviève, Paris. 588, Lives of Saints, fol. 1vo. ILL. MS. (13th cent.). **Bibl:** n.a., “Les manuscrits a peintures de la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève de Paris,” *Bulletin de la société Française de reproductions de manuscrits a peintures* 5 (1921) 65–66, fol. 1v. **(Simon Magus opposing Saint Peter)**

Simon Magus and Gehazi

28. Image (c. 1360) in *Eerste Historiebijbel*. **Bibl:** S. Hindman, *Text and Image in Fifteenth-Century Illustrated Dutch Bibles*. (Leiden 1977) p. 29.

Simon Magus and Helena

29. Isola Tiberina, Italy. Semo Sancus statue (4th–5th cent.). **Bibl:** G. Wilpert, “La statua di Simon Mago sull’isola Tiberina,” *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana* 15 (1938) 334–339, figures 1–4. H. Leclercq, “Simon le Magicien,” *Dictionnaire d’archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie* 15 (1950) 1459–1463, fig. 10907. R. Lefevre, “Il sepolcro di Simon Mago all’Ariccia,” *L’Urbe* 23 (1960) 14–20. **(Simon Magus and Helena)**

Simon Magus and the Ram

30. Saint Père-de-Chartres, Windows, 12th–13th cent. Window, nave, Bay 22, right lancet (Raising of the dead youth) and Bay 22, row 4 (Fall of Simon Magus). **Bibl:** Meredith Parsons Lillich, *The*

Stained Glass of Saint-Père de Chartres. (Wesleyan 1978) pp. 62–64, 160–166, plates 6 and 62. (**Simon Magus with a Ram, raising a dead youth, and Fall of Simon Magus**)

Saint Peter Resurrecting A Young Man

31. Prague University Library. Velislaus Miscellany, XXIII, C. 124. (fol. 171vo, fol. 174vo, and fol. 175 ro). 14th cent. (**Saint Peter opposing Simon Magus and resurrecting a young man**)

32. Cathedral of Bourges, Lady of Lourdes Chapel, Window 2 (13th cent.). **Bibl:** S. Muté, *Cathédrale de Bourges*. No. 6. (Bourges 1924) I, no. 237. (**Peter and Paul accusing Simon Magus and Saint Peter resurrecting a dead child**)

33. Cathedral of Lyon. Window (12th cent.). **Bibl:** L. Bégule, *Monographie de la Cathédrale de Lyon*. (Lyon 1880) pp. 104–107. Marcel Aubert (et al.), *Le vitrail Français. Sous le haut direction du Musée des arts décoratifs de Paris*. (Paris 1958) pp. 116–117. (**Saint Peter resurrecting a dead child**)

Simon Magus, Pope Clement I and Martin of Tours

34. Cathedral of León, Spain. Stained Glass Windows, Absidal Chapel. 13th cent. **Bibl:** M. Gómez Moreno, *Catálogo Monumental de la provincia de León*. 2th edición. (León 1979) p. 262. M. Gómez Rascón, *Catedral de León. Las Vidrieras. El Simbolismo de la Luz*. (León, 2000), pp. 14–15, 79, 95, 98–100, 103, and 149–151. (**Simon Magus with Pope Clement I and Martin of Tours**)

Fall of Simon Magus

Sculpture and Reliefs

35. Saint-Paul-de-Varax Church, France. Exterior, west, Arcades L. Relief and Capital. 12th cent. **Bibl:** A. Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*. Vol. 1. (New York 1985) figure 86. (**Peter and Paul accusing Simon Magus and the Fall of Simon Magus**)

36. Church of St. John Lateran, Rome (Vatican). Reliquary enamel (1369). **(Fall of Simon Magus)**

37. Musée de Cluny, Paris. Diptych Ivory (14th cent.). **Bibl:** R. Koechlin, *Les ivoires gothiques Français*. 2 vols. (Paris 1924) 2: 145–146, plate, 79, no. 344. **(Fall of Simon Magus and the martyrdom of Peter and Paul)**

38. Cathedral of Lazare, Autun, France. Nave, piers S., capitals, pier 4. 12th cent. **Bibl:** W. Goldschmidt, "Toulouse and Ripoll—The origin of the style of Gilabertus," *The Burlington Magazine* 74 (1939) 104–110. E. Mâle, *Les Saints compagnons du Christ*. (Paris 1958) pp. 87–124, [p. 98 Autun]. C. S. Singleton, "Inferno XIX: O Simon Magoi!" *Modern Language Notes* 80 (1965) 92–99. A. Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*. Vol. 1. (New York 1985) figures 73 and 75. D. Grivot and G. Zarnecki, *Gislebertus, Sculptor of Autun*. (Orion Press 1961) p. 75, plate 38. **(Simon Magus flying and falling)**

39. Market Square Kells Cross, Ireland. Sculpture (10th cent.). Side R and Side L. **Bibl:** A. Kingsley Porter, *The Crosses and Culture of Ireland*. (Benjamin Blom, 1931) p. 123, Figures 29, 244, 260 and 261. F. Henry, *La Sculpture Irlandaise pendant les Douze premiers siècles de l'ère chrétienne* vol. 2. Planches, (Paris 1933) plate 2 of V-ill. F. Henry, *Irish Art during the Viking Invasions (800–1020 A.D.)*, (New York 1967) pp. 187–188 and 203 with illustrations of Monasterboice and Market Cross Kells, plates 86 and 104. A comparison of Autun Cathedral and Monreale (Sicilia) with Monasterboice p. 186, figure 35. H. M. Roe, *The High Crosses of Kells*, (Meath Archaeological and Historical Society 1975) pp. 39–40 and comparison with Autun, figure 7 y plate XI, and H. M. Roe, *Monasterboice and its monuments*, (County Louth Archaeological and Historical Society 1981) pp. 44–55 and plate XIV. A. Ferreiro, "Simon Magus and Simon Peter in Medieval Irish and English Legends," *La Figure di San Pietro nelle Fonti del Medioevo*. Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, TEXTES ET ETUDES DU MOYEN AGE, 17. Atti del convegno tenutosi in occasione dello *Studiorum universitatum docentium congressus* (Viterbo-Roma 5–8 settembre 2000). (ed.) L. Lazzari and A. M. Valente Bacci. (Louvain-la-Neuve 2001) pp. 112–132, figs. 1–3. **(Fall of Simon Magus)**

40. Castledermot Irish Cross, Ireland. Sculpture (10th cent.). **Bibl:** A. Kingsley Porter, *The Crosses and Culture of Ireland*. (Benjamin Blom 1931) p. 123, Figures 29, 244, 260 and 261. H. M. Roe, *The High*

Crosses of Kells, (Meath Archaeological and Historical Society 1975) pp. 39–40 and figure 7 and plate XI, and H. M. Roe, *Monasterboice and its monuments*, (County Louth Archaeological and Historical Society 1981) pp. 44–55 and plate XIV. A. Ferreiro, "Simon Magus and Simon Peter in Medieval Irish and English Legends," *La Figure di San Pietro nelle Fonti del Medioevo*. Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales. TEXTES ET ETUDES DU MOYEN AGE, 17. Atti del convegno tenutosi in occasione dello *Studiorum universitatum docentium congressus* (Viterbo-Roma 5–8 settembre 2000). (ed.) L. Lazzari and A. M. Valente Bacci. (Louvain-la-Neuve 2001). pp. 112–132, figs. 1–3. **(Fall of Simon Magus)**

41. Monasterboice Irish Cross, Ireland. Sculpture (10th cent.). **Bibl:** A. Kingsley Porter, *The Crosses and Culture of Ireland*. (Benjamin Blom 1931) p. 123, Figures 29, 244, 260 and 261. R. A. S. Macalister, *Monasterboice Co. Louth*. (Dundalk 1946) pp. 45–53 on the West Cross, ver, p. 48 and plate XV. F. Henry, *Irish Art during the Viking Invasions (800–1020 A.D.)*, (New York 1967) pp. 187–188 and 203 with illustrations of Monasterboice and Market Cross Kells, plates 86 and 104. A comparison with Autun Cathedral and Monreale (Sicilia) with Monasterboice p. 186, figure 35. H. M. Roe, *The High Crosses of Kells*. (Meath Archaeological and Historical Society 1975) pp. 39–40 and figure 7 and plate XI, and H. M. Roe, *Monasterboice and its monuments*. (County Louth Archaeological and Historical Society 1981) pp. 44–55 and plate XIV. A. Ferreiro, "Simon Magus and Simon Peter in Medieval Irish and English Legends," *La Figure di San Pietro nelle Fonti del Medioevo*. Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales. TEXTES ET ETUDES DU MOYEN AGE, 17. Atti del convegno tenutosi in occasione dello *Studiorum universitatum docentium congressus* (Viterbo-Roma 5–8 settembre 2000). (ed.) L. Lazzari and A. M. Valente Bacci. (Louvain-la-Neuve 2001). pp. 112–132, figs. 1–3. **(Fall of Simon Magus)**

42. Iglesia de Santa María, Ripoll, Catalonia, Spain. Exterior, west, portal, archivolt 3. (12th cent.). **Bibl:** C. S. Singleton, "Inferno XIX: O Simon Mago!" *Modern Language Notes* 80 (1965) 92–99. W. Goldschmidt, "Toulouse and Ripoll-The origin of the style of Gilabertus," *The Burlington Magazine* 74 (1939) 104–110, ill. Eduard Junyent, *El Monestir de Santa Maria de Ripoll*. (Barcelona 1975) pp. 276–277, figure 81. **(Fall of Simon Magus)**

43. Church of St. Sernin, Toulouse (Haute-Garonne). Exterior, south, portal 1, arch spandrels. (12th cent.). **Bibl:** Paul Deschamps,

French Sculpture of the Romanesque Period. Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries. (Panthéon 1930) p. 20, plate 10B. Gregor Paulsson, "Die zwei quellpunkte der romanischen plastik Frankreichs Toulouse und Cluny," in Joseph Gantner Zugeeignet (ed.), *Formositas Romanica. Beiträge zur erforschung der Romanischen Kunst.* (Basel 1958) pp. 9–27. A. Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads.* Vol. 2. (New York 1985) figure 318. **(Flight of Simon Magus)**

44. Baptismal Font, stone relief, (12th cent.). Valleberga, Sweden. **Bibl:** Aron Andersson and Paul Hamlyn, *The Art of Scandinavia.* Vol. 2. (London 1970) p. 131, plate 85. **(Fall of Simon Magus)**

45. Church of Neuilly-en-Donjon, France. Capitals, relief, (12th cent.). **Bibl:** William R. Cook, "A new approach to the tympanum of Neuilly-en-Donjon," *Journal of Medieval History* 4 (1978) 333–345, figure 7. **(Fall of Simon Magus)**

46. Peterborough Cathedral, England. Column relief base (12th–13th cent.). **Bibl:** M. R. James, "On the paintings formerly in the choir at Peterborough," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 38 (1897) 178–194. G. Henderson, "The damnation of Nero, and related themes," *The Vanishing Past. Studies of Medieval Art, Liturgy and Metrology presented to Christopher Hohler.* (ed.) Alan Borg and Andrew Martindale. BAR International Series, 111. (Oxford 1981) pp. 39–51, plates 4.3 and 4.4. **(Fall of Simon Magus)**

47. Cathedral of Oviedo, Asturias, Spain. Chapel of St. Peter. (17th cent.). Wood relief. **Bibl:** A. Ferreiro, "Simon Magus and Simon Peter in a Baroque Altar Relief in the Cathedral of Oviedo, Spain," *Hagiographica* 5 (1998) 141–158. figs. 1–8. **(Fall of Simon Magus before Nero and martyrdom of Saint Peter)**

48. Cathedral of Spilimburgh Organ doors. [E.Ital. XXXII, 372]. **(Fall of Simon Magus)**

Windows

49. Cathedral of Auxerre. Auxerre, France. Windows 57 and 58, ambulatory, left front outer wall, next to the choir. (ca. 1220). **Bibl:** V. C. Raguin, *Stained Glass in Thirteenth Century Burgundy.* (Princeton, 1982), pp. 161–162. **(Fall of Simon Magus)**

50. Cathedral of Bourges, Lady of Lourdes Chapel, Window 2 (13th cent.). **Bibl:** S. Clément and A. Guitard, *Vitraux de Bourges. Vitraux du XIII^e siècle de la cathédrale de Bourges.* (Bourges 1900) pp.

52–55. Plate XV. S. Muté, *Cathédrale de Bourges*. No. 6. (Bourges 1924) I, no. 237. **(Saint Peter and Paul accusing Simon Magus)**

51. Cathedral of Tours Gatién. Window, choir, (13th). **Bibl:** Chanoin Bourassé, *Verrières du chœur de l'église Métropolitaine de Tours*. (Tours 1849) pp. 63–64, plate X. Henri Boissonot, *Histoire et description de la cathédrale de Tours*. Paris, 1920. **(Saints Peter and Paul accusing Simon Magus and his Fall)**

52. Cathedral of Angers. Maurice. Windows, choir, window 9, lancets 1 and 2. Window 7, rose and lancets 1 and 2, Window 6, lancets 1 and 2, Window 5, rose and lancets 1 and 2, Window 4 lancets 1 and 2, Window 3, rose, lancets 1 and 2. 12th cent. **Bibl:** Joseph Denais, *Monographie de la Cathédrale d'Angers*. (Paris 1899) p. 427. J. Hayward and L. Groderick, "Les vitraux de la Cathédrale d'Angers," *Bulletin Monumental* 124 (1966) pp. 32–33. **(Fall of Simon Magus)**

53. Cathedral of Peter, Poitiers. Window (12th cent.). **Bibl:** L. Groderick, *Congrès Archéologique* 109 (1951) 138, fig 1, 3. **(Fall of Simon Magus)**

54. Cologne. Kölner Dome, window (16th cent.). **Bibl:** Herbert Rode, *Die mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien des Kölner Domes*. Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi, IV, 1. (Köln-Berlin 1974) p. 193. Plates 223 and 225. **(Fall of Simon Magus)**

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55. Church of San Pietro, Pianezza, Italy. Fresco,—Collaborator of Jaqueiro—(15th Century). **Bibl:** G. Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in North West Italy*. [With the collaboration of Fabio Bisogni]. Florence, 1985. col. 543, fig. 763. Andreina Griseri, *Jaqueiro e il realismo gotico in Piemonte*. Turin, 1966, p. 60, pl. 51 a, b.

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schools of painting. Florence, 1986. col. 858, fig. 1020. (**Fall of Simon Magus**)

57. Jacobello del Fiore, Venice? Painting under a scalloped arch. (13th Century). **Bibl:** G. Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in North East Italy*. Florence, 1978. fig. 1093.

58. Jacobello del Fiore, Art Museum, Denver, Colorado, USA. Polyptych, fresco (13th Century), provenance, Italy. **Bibl:** G. Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in North East Italy*. Florence, 1978. col. 835, fig. 1093. (**Fall of Simon Magus**)

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60. Tiarini Allessandro, Galeria Doria Pamphili, Rome. (Alinari 29708). (**Fall of Simon Magus**)

61. Tibaldi Pellegrino, Chapella di Giacomo Maggiore, Bologna. 16th cent. [E. Ital. XXXIII]. 793). (**Fall of Simon Magus**)

62. Pompeo Batoni, Santa Maria degli Angeli, Roma. (**Fall of Simon Magus**)

63. Pisa. Cemeterio Camposanto. Fresco decoration (10th–12th cent.). Aisle South Wall. Christ the Last Judgment. (Alinari, 8846). (**Fall of Simon Magus**)

64. Capella Palatina, Palermo. Aisle L, wall N. (12th cent.) (Alinari 33151). **Bibl:** Eve Borsook, *Messages in Mosaic. The Royal Programmes of Norman Sicily (1130–1187)*. (Oxford 1990) pp. 28–31; 39–41, figs. 55 and 56. H. L. Kessler, "The meeting of Peter and Paul in Rome: An emblematic narrative of spiritual brotherhood," in *Studies on Art and Archaeology in Honor of Ernst Kitzinger on his seventy-fifth birthday*. (eds.) W. Tronzo and I. Lavin. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987) 265–275. Otto Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily*. (Routledge & Kegan Paul 1949) pp. 3–5, 46, 70, 299, 347, plates 43 (a) and (b). P. Toesca, *Les mosaïques de La Chapelle Palatine de Palerme*. (Milano-Paris 1955) pp. 7–8, 22, ill. E. Kitzinger, "The mosaics of the Capella Palatina in Palermo," *The Art Bulletin* 39 (1949) 269–292, ill. (**Fall of Simon Magus and Peter and Paul before Nero**)

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moyen âge. (Bruxelles 1964) pp. 52–53, plate XCV, figs. 208, 209, 210. (**Saint Peter enthroned on his Cathedra and disputing with Nero and Simon Magus**)

66. Monastery Church of Pomposa Italy. Fresco (10th–12th cent.). Aisle, south, Wall S, zone 1. **Bibl:** M. Salmi, *L'Abbazia di Pomposa*. (Pomposa 1966) pp. 138–140, figures, 293–295. (**Fall of Simon Magus**)

67. Colección Plandiura, Barcelona. Frontal Altar, painting (14th cent.). (**Life of Peter and Fall of Simon Magus**)

68. Cathedral of Cologne. Choir screen, north, section 1. Painting (14th cent.). **Bibl:** P. Clemen, *Die gotischen Monumental-malereien der Rheinlande*. 2 vols. Publikationen des Gesellschaft für Rhenische Geschichtskunde, 41. (Düsseldorf 1930) 1: 188–189, plate 39. Christ calling Peter and Andrew. (**Fall of Simon Magus**)

69. Yale University, Museum of Art, Jarves Collection. Panel, painting (13th cent.). **Bibl:** Sirén Osvald, *A descriptive catalogue of the pictures in the Jarves Collection belonging to Yale University*. (Yale 1916) pp. 11–12. (**Virgin Mary with Peter and Paul and Fall of Simon Magus**)

70. Galleria Pinacoteca, Siena. Panel (15) painting (13th cent.). (**Life of Peter and Fall of Simon Magus**)

71. Chiesa di San Francesco, Assisi. Upper transept, north, wall N, zone 3. Fresco. (13th cent.). **Bibl:** B. Kleinschmidt, *Die Basilika San Francesco di Assisi*. 3 vols. (Berlin 1915–1928 [vol. 2, 1926]) 2: 44–48, figures 22 and 23. (**Fall of Simon Magus**)

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75. Francesco Solimena. The Hague. Painting (17th cent.). (**Fall of Simon Magus**)

76. Sebastian Bordon, 17th cent. Major Altar. Cathedral of Montpellier. (**Fall of Simon Magus**)

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Simon Peter and Simon Magus and Dogs

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Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 4



Fig. 5

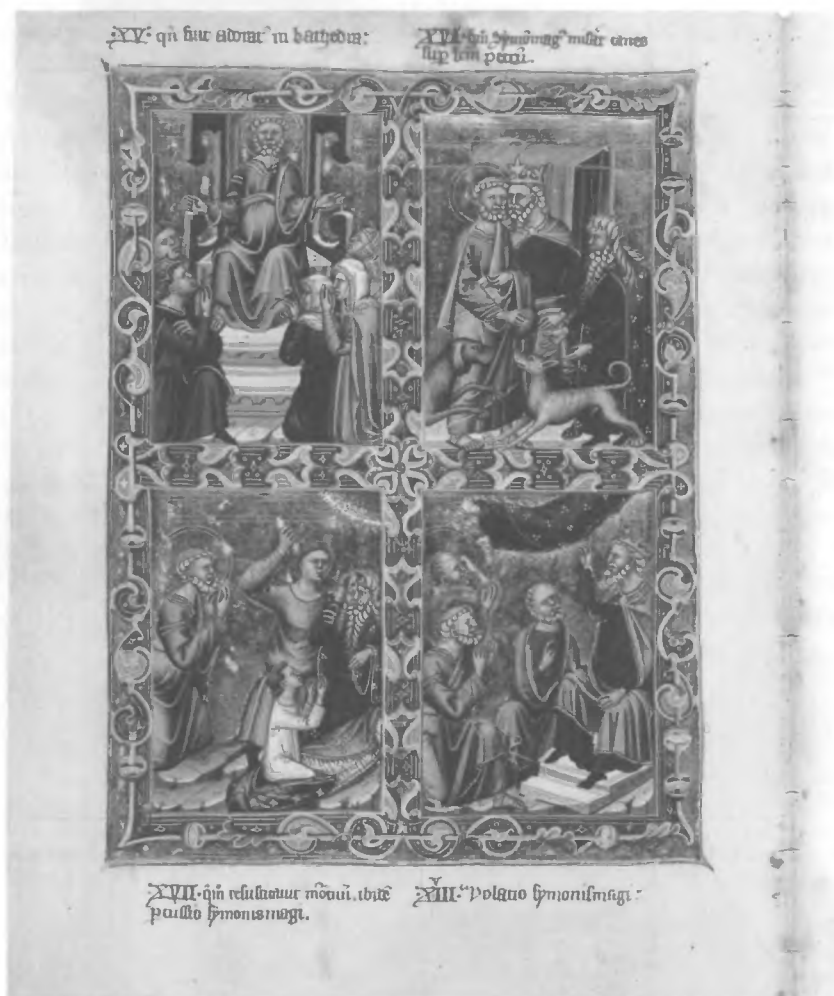


Fig. 6





Fig. 1

from (976–1002). If any major additions were made we have no notice of them in the sources up until the twelfth century. Nevertheless, as happened with so many earlier modest structures such as in Santiago de Compostela, in time the original was replaced with a much larger and grandiose building. Major new construction occurred in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries notably under King Alfonso IX (1188–1230) who in 1197 married Doña Berenguela. These two dedicated themselves to restoring or replacing numerous churches in their kingdom.¹ This activity was part of the larger effort to re-

¹ M. Gómez Moreno, *Catálogo Monumental de la provincia de León* 2nd edición (León, 1979), p. 219. For the archival material on the cathedral see, J. M. Ruiz Asencio, *Colección documental de la Catedral de León*. Vol. 8 (León, 1990).



Fig. 2

full humanity and divinity of Christ. At the bottom we see Martin in what is the most famous artistic representation of his life: his sharing of a portion of his cape with a beggar. This image became the iconographic signature of this saint throughout all of Europe and wherever else his cult has ever flourished. Flanking this center portion are scenes of miraculous events at the hands of Martin apparently from his earthly ministry as related by Sulpicius Severus²⁰ and

²⁰ For the life of Martin of Tours during his earthly ministry see, *Sulpice Sévère. Vie de Saint Martin* (ed.) J. Fontaine, 3 vols. [Sources Chrétiennes, 133-135] Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1967-1969.



Fig. 3

goods or money. The people shown coming to Martin for healing powerfully contrasts with the absence of anything of the miraculous associated with Simon Magus. In the Martin window to his right there is an individual clearly with hands folded in prayer invoking the bishop of Tours for his blessing and healing. Martin, furthermore, is depicted in full episcopal regalia that highlights his legitimate apostolic succession which in turn validates the divine source of his ability to heal. Moreover, his compassion to be generous with the poor beggar is inspired by the Holy Spirit and not by selfish designs as is the case with Simon Magus. Simon Magus let us recall was portrayed as the anti-apostle in the patristic-medieval tradition and in the two panels there is not a hint in his dress of his having any episcopal authority much less authentic apostolic succession.



Fig. 4

Lastly, Simon Magus seems to be standing (figure 3) on what appears to be a serpent, not in triumph over evil, perhaps as a symbol that his foundation rests on the Evil One.

The majority of the panels as one would expect focus on the life and deeds of Pope Clement I. Unlike the Martin of Tours and Simon Magus images the literary sources for the themes of the pope's life in this chapel are more diverse and will be identified as I describe the content. A recurring theme was to demonstrate that Pope Clement I and Martin of Tours represented authentic servants of God whereas Simon Magus was the fraudulent teacher who had nothing to offer in return, but instead demanded only worship of his person.

Below the smaller Simon Magus image the panel depicts the story of a mother who lost her child during a pilgrimage to the shrine of the pope. As the tidal waters returned she lost track of her son in the confusion who was swept away while she struggled to avoid drowning (figure 5, Gómez Rascón, appendix). After desperately looking for the dead boy whom she thought would wash ashore the mother gave up and went home miserable to grieve her son's death. A year later after many tears and mourning she went back again to the shrine to participate in Pope Clement's feast still hoping to find

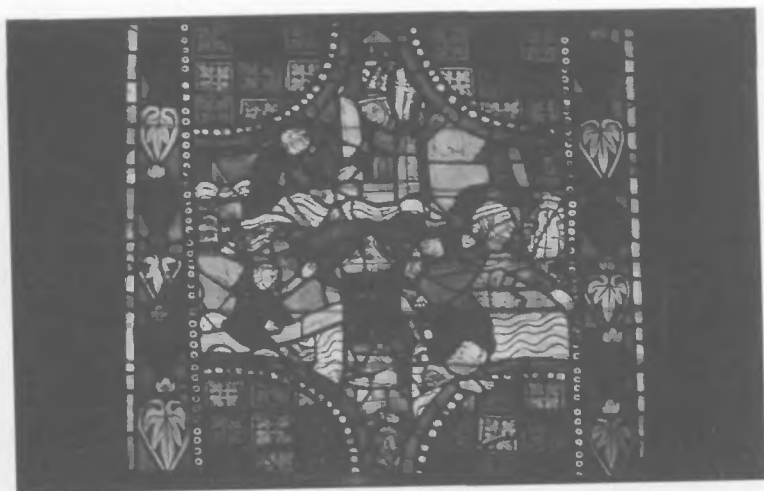


Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7

Eusebius only says that he died during the reign of Trajan without specifying martyrdom. Since Irenaeus of Lyons, our earliest source, did not mention the martyrdom of the pope there are solid grounds to believe that the martyrdom is a latter interpolation into the life of Pope Clement I.²³ Gregory of Tours preserved the alleged martyrdom under Trajan (*Tertius post Neronem persecutionem in christianus Traianus movet, Sub quo beatus Clemens tertius Romanae ecclesiae fuit episcopus passus*, *LH*, I, 27, p. 21 and at *GM*, 36, where he calls him 'beati Clementis martyr,' p. 61) as does the *Liber Pontificalis* which specifies that it occurred in the year 100 A.D.²⁴ The *Golden Legend* contains the most elaborate account of the martyrdom. The Roman official acting on behalf of the Emperor Trajan ordered Pope Clement's body cast into the ocean with an anchor fastened around his neck. He feared that the Christians would worship him as a 'god.' As the pontiff's disciples set out to retrieve his body suddenly the ocean receded three miles. They proceeded to walk on 'dry' land and found a small building prepared by the Lord in the

²³ J. N. D. Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 7-8.

²⁴ R. Davis (trans.), *The Book of Pontiffs: Liber Pontificalis*. [Translated Texts for Historians. Latin Series, 5] (Liverpool, 1989), chapter 4, p. 3.



Fig. 8

behalf. Aredius led a procession while they chanted a psalm [unspecified] to the location where the spring once flowed. After the chant ended he knelt in prayer and placed Pope Clement's relics on the source of the spring. Gregory of Tours here interjected that just as previously God brought forth water from the desert through Moses [Exodus 17:1-7; Numbers 20:7-11] so again this happened at Limoges through the intervention of Pope Clement I. Immediately abundant water rushed forth in such great quantity that the banks overflowed and the gardens and crops once again blossomed. The people rejoiced in thanking God that through his servant the martyr Pope Clement I and through the prayers of Aredius the region was delivered from the devastating drought.²⁸

²⁸ Admirantibus populis, immensae gratiae Domino referuntur, qui et martyris virtutem prodidit et fidelis sui orationem implere dignatus est, *GM*, 36, p. 61. The insights of Raymond Van Dam on this text are valuable, *Gregory of Tours. Glory of the Martyrs* [Translated Texts for Historians, Latin Series, 3]. (Liverpool, 1988), pp. 57-58.



Fig. 9

Compostela. Martin of Tours a widely venerated saint in Iberia particularly in the north provides a powerful example of the healing power of God as the rose window effectively shows. Episcopal authority through apostolic succession is a prominent theme in both Martin of Tours and in Pope Clement I in this chapel. Equally important, the pope worked miracles and pastored his flock through his Corinthian letter and died a martyr, the ultimate witness of a life surrendered to Christ. Simon Magus instead was depicted without any miraculous powers. He appears only taking from and demanding adoration from his followers which is a complete antithesis to the call of servi-

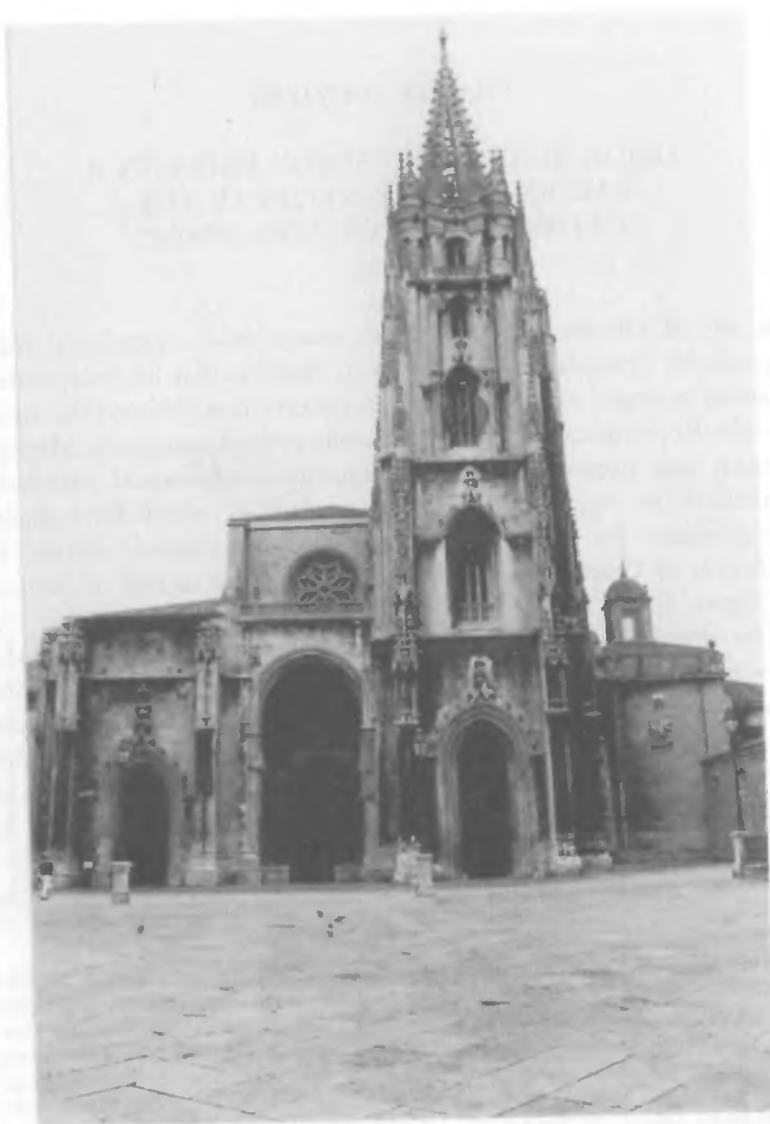


Fig. 1



Fig. 2

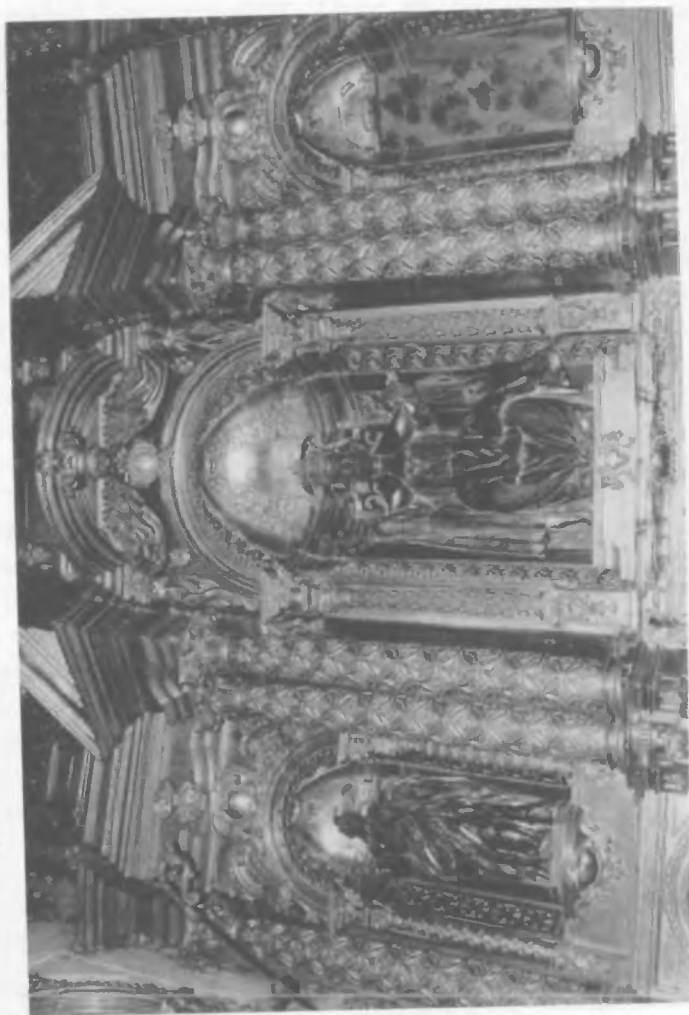


Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8